



THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
WITH OTHER MEDIAEVAL INSTITUTIONS
AND THEIR BUILDINGS
IN ST. ANDREWS.

David Henry. F.S.A. Scot.

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THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN, ETC.



Church of the Preceptory of Torphichen.
From S.E.

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN

with other Mediaeval Institutions
and their Buildings in St. Andrews

By DAVID HENRY, F.S.A. Scot.



ST. ANDREWS:
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PREFACE.

Brought up on the Braes of Angus, I never remember the time when St. Andrews, across its shining bay—if under a clear sky—was not visible from my father's door. The times were exciting—1843 and thereabout, and there was some controversial literature and much disputation of a kind beloved of the Scottish people, in which I took a boy's share. The Martyrs of St. Andrews had a place in these controversies and from them I learned to be interested in the Old City in which they suffered long before I had seen it nearer than twenty miles away—in another County.

Since becoming a citizen, now half a century ago, it has been my pastime to acquire all the knowledge within my reach of its traditions and history and especially of its ancient Buildings and Institutions—only however to gratify a natural curiosity and with little thought of using the materials for any farther purpose. But “we are led on”—a time came when a desire grew up to impart some of this not quite common knowledge to others who might care to have it and so add something to the common stock. The result was a series of papers in the hospitable columns of the *St. Andrews Citizen* which the readers of that Journal seemed to read and appreciate. This led to invitations to publish in book form, and it did seem a pity that the gatherings of many years after being once in print should be again lost—hence the present venture. A wide

circle of readers may not be obtained for what is perhaps only a local book, but many are interested in St. Andrews as a City of old renown, and its sons—native and adopted—are to be found in all quarters of the Globe.

Some opinions advanced are rather contradictory of hitherto accepted conclusions, but it is hoped that sufficient reasons are given.

All the usual sources of information have been used but authorities are sparingly quoted in foot notes—these add little interest to the general reader and occupy much space. Experts know the sources without references.

To all who have in any way helped I express my grateful thanks, especially to Mr. W. H. Walker, for assistance with the Sketches and Plans, and to Dr. Ross, F.S.A. Scot., Edinburgh, Mr. D. C. Mackie, and Mr. E. J. Balfour, St. Andrews, for excellent Photographs.

D.H.

ST. ANDREWS, 1912.

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CHAPTER I.

THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS AND THEIR POSSESSIONS IN ST. ANDREWS.

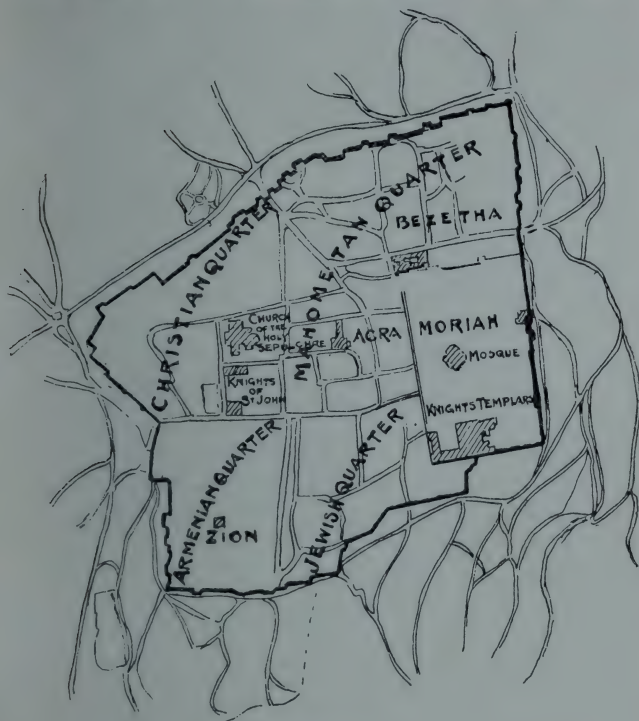
THESE Orders originated in the circumstances of Palestine and especially of Jerusalem. After the Holy City fell into the hands of the Kalif Omar in 636 it remained with the Arabs. Towards the year 1000 there was a general belief that the second Coming of the Lord was near at hand, and this belief drew crowds of pilgrims to the Holy Land. The sight of the holy places in the hands of the Moslems, the exactions of tribute by their Government and the insults heaped upon the pilgrims excited an extraordinary ferment in Europe, and led to those remarkable expeditions known to history as the Crusades. In 1023 certain merchants of Amalfi obtained permission from the (Fatimy) Kalif of Egypt to establish an hospital in Jerusalem for the use of "poor and sick Latin pilgrims." This hospital or hospice, which still survives, prospered exceedingly, and grateful pilgrims spread its fame throughout Europe. They sent offerings to its funds and some remained behind to assist personally in forwarding its objects. With increased usefulness, organisation became necessary, and in this organisation is to be found the origin of the great Order of the Knights of St. John. When later, Jerusalem was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon during the first Crusade

his wounded soldiers were tended by the Rector, Peter Gerard, and the more wealthy of the Crusaders, following the good example of Peter and the Amalfi merchants, added to the funds of so useful an institution, and some formed themselves into a regularly constituted religious body to help in the good work. The Patriarch of Jerusalem invested every approved candidate with a black robe having a white cross of eight points on the left breast, receiving in return the monastic vow of "poverty, obedience, and chastity." In 1113 the Pope (Paschal II.) formally sanctioned the institution by a Bull, and five years later the Knights took a fresh oath to become militant defenders of the cause of the Cross, and were thus fairly launched on their great career. Theirs is an intensely interesting history, and notwithstanding that they have experienced many vicissitudes they still survive (though in a somewhat archaic form) after the tear and wear of nearly eight centuries.

The Templars, "who are surrounded by the halo of romance and the glamour of chivalry" were founded somewhat later, and only differ from the Hospitallers in being a military Order from the first. Their robe or habit was a white mantle with a red cross, and almost from their foundation they had their quarters in the Palace of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, within the Temple area, at its south-western Corner. Northward, at a distance of fully 200 yards, there now stands the Mosque, Kubbet es-Sakhra, believed by some to be on the site of Solomon's Temple, and from this association the Templars took their name.

The special work they undertook was to guard the roads and give armed assistance to the Pilgrims visiting the holy places in Palestine. When the Holy Land was

finally lost to the Christians the Templar's occupation was gone, but by this time they had become very rich, very proud and tyrannical, and it is to be feared very corrupt—in fact “to carouse like a Templar” had become



* JERUSALEM.

a bye-word and a reproach. They were finally suppressed on the Continent in 1312 and in Scotland their ruin began as early as 1309* after cruel and arbitrary trials

* On 6th October, 1309, Edward II. ordered John de Segrave, the guardian of Scotland, to arrest all Templars still at large in Scotland.

for heresy and worse things. Their properties and possessions in St. Andrews and elsewhere were transferred to the Hospitallers, who were not their friends.

The head of the Templars was a Grand Master and their chief seat in Scotland was at "Balentradockis"—now Arniston and the modern Parish of Temple in Midlothian. The head quarters of the Hospitallers was at Torphichen in Linlithgowshire and their head was a Preceptor, who from the time of James IV. sat in the Scottish Parliament as Lord St. John.

Very little knowledge of these high personages has come down to us, but in 1298 the Grand Master was an Englishman—Sir Brian le Joy, and the Preceptor of Torphichen was Sir Alexander de Welles, who, apparently a Scotsman, had taken the oath of fealty to Edward I. for the possessions of his Order. Both fought on the English side at the battle of Falkirk and both were slain.

On 27th July, 1461, "a full Temple Court was held on the ground of a Temple land situated near Buchanan (Stirlingshire) in presence of a venerable and religious man, Brother Henry of Levynston, Knight and Preceptor of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem within the Kingdom of Scotland." And on 17th February, 1493-4, there is an infetment in the same county which narrates how "an honest man Robert Buchanan, deputy of a noble man Walter Buchanan," was bailie "of a noble Lord William Knollis, Knight-Lord of St. John, Preceptor of Torphichen," etc., etc. The name of this famous Preceptor, on whom James IV. conferred a seat in Parliament and who was slain with him at Flodden, occurs more than once in the writs concerning 71 South Street—of which hereafter.



Church of the Preceptory of Torphichen.
View in Transept.

The best opinion seems to be that it was the “sair sanct” himself who introduced the Orders into Scotland and who according to Fordun made them the “keepers of his morals by day and night.” King David’s reign ended with his life in 1153 and seven years later we come upon the first traces of them in St. Andrews. In 1160, in a charter by Malcolm IV.—David’s grandson—in favour of the Canons of the Priory, two of the witnesses are “Richard of the Hospital of Jerusalem” and “Robert, brother of the Temple.”

Farther—Bishop Richard (1163-78) confirms to the Canons a tenement “next to that of the brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem in the North Street” (*in vico aquilonali*). There were two tenements of Temple land in North Street—one on the north side and one on the south. That on the north extended to the Swallowgate, at which end there is the modern villa of Torrevach; at the south end it is now workmen’s dwellings and numbers 47 and 49 in the street. That on the south side is represented by Nos. 68 to 72, by all Union Street (“the foul weist” of ancient times), and by Nos. 45 to 53 in Market Street and, of course, all within these boundaries. The length is about 80 yards by about 30, and the area nearly half an acre. The third and most important of the Temple tenements which belonged to the Hospitallers at the dissolution was almost certainly that of the Templars, but there is no recorded date as to when it was acquired. Its boundaries were the Baxter’s Wynd on the east, South Street on the south, Market Street on the north and on the west the garden dyke from the west gable of what is now 54 Market Street to the corresponding gable of 79 South Street—the length is about the same as the last, viz., 80 yards, and the breadth

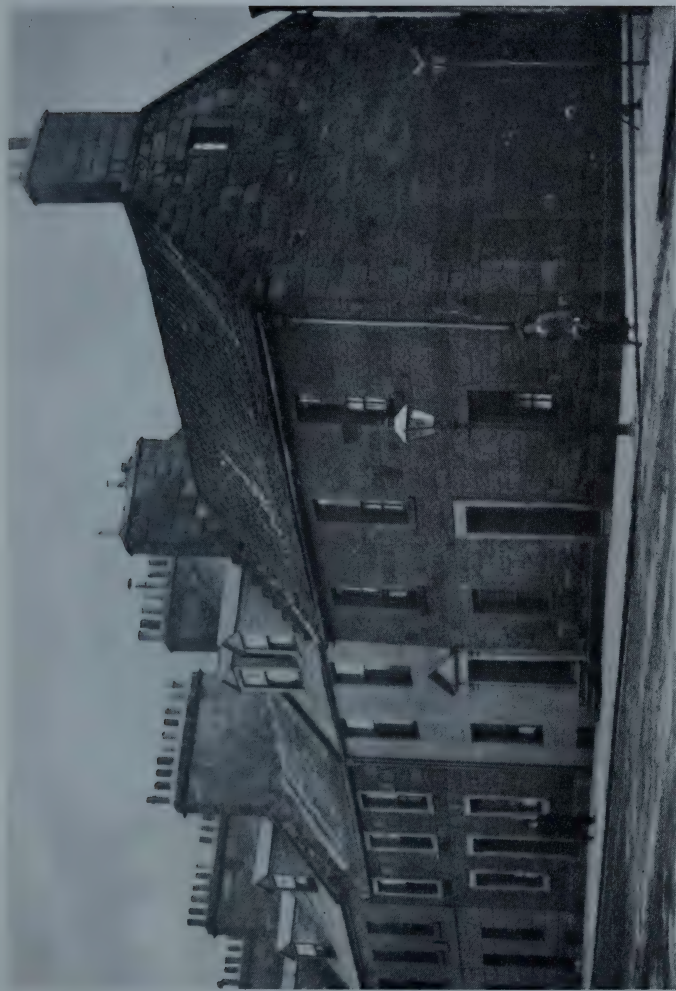
about 52 yards (or five rigs), and the area about five-sixths of an acre. As aforesaid, it is very probable that this was, previous to their suppression, the tenement of the Templars, but with the exception of the name of "Robert, brother of the Temple," in Malcolm's charter local history is entirely silent with regard to them. It is probable also that these three tenements of land which, so to speak, are on the same parallel of longitude were, in the 12th century, on the outside of the built part of the city then, as now, creeping its way westwards.

Sir William Knollis appears to have been succeeded by Sir George Dundas and he in turn by Sir Walter Lindsay, whom the "Nobill and vailyeand squyer Williame Meldrum" made one of his executors. The Preceptor at the Reformation was Sir James Sandilands, son of Sir James Sandilands of Calder. Like his father, Sir James espoused the cause of the new faith, but apparently still enjoyed some Court favour notwithstanding, for he resigned in the hands of the Crown all the lands, baronies, etc., of the Preceptory, and on 24th January, 1563, he had a charter regranting them to him and his heirs into one Barony of Torphichen, and that was "the end of an auld sang" for the Hospitallers in Scotland after an existence in that Northern Land of more than four hundred years. The charter is printed in the "Spottiswoode Miscellany," vol. II., pp. 25-32. The new Baron was to pay in onerous consideration to the Crown an annual feu-duty of fifty merks and ten thousand crowns of the sun, cash down. He is said to have borrowed the money, and that may be one reason why his grand-nephew and heir, the second Baron, parted with a large part of his possessions including the "Temple tenements" in St. Andrews. His disponees were Robert

Williamson, a writer, and James Tennent of Lynehouse. Tennent soon assigned his moiety to Williamson, who after a few years sold the whole to the well-known President of the College of Justice, Sir Thomas Hamilton (James VI.'s "Tam o' the Cowgate"), afterwards Lord Binning and Byris and Earl of Haddington, who was then building up the vast estate, by the purchase of Church and other lands, which made him in later life "the richest man in Scotland." His Lordship in 1614 made up a title to this portion of his purchases by Crown charter erecting the Temple lands into the Barony of Drem—in this charter these lands are specially enumerated. The holders of Temple tenements in St. Andrews at this time were, David Russell, James Brown, David Finnistoun, John Fairfull, John Mair and John Brown, Andrew Ramsay, James Watson, Martin and George Lumsdenis, Hugh Lindsay and David Wode, Patrick Adamson, John Mair and George Philip, and James Lenton. Several of these names have died out ; there are now no Lentrans amongst us, although several of them were Provosts of the city in their day. Finnistoun and Wode have also disappeared, Mair is still represented, but perhaps the best known name is that of Patrick Adamson. He was the son of the much better known "Mr. Patrick Adamson" (Tulchan), Archbishop of St. Andrews (1576-91) and his tenement was No. 71 South Street, better known to the last two generations as "Dr. Archibald's House." As the tenements changed owners, successive Earls of Haddington gave commissions to certain persons named in the deeds to receive resignations of all Temple lands held by them, and thereupon to grant new infeftments either by precepts of *clare constat* or by charter of resignation. In one such

charter, of 1734, the then Earl is described as the " Right Honourable the Earl Haddington, Lord Binning and Byris, Lord of St. John and Lord of the Lordship and Regality of Drem." The charter is of 71 South Street and is in favour of David Davidson and Christina Oliphant, his wife, It is to be held by all its right meaths, marches, etc., under his Lordship and his successors in the regality of Drem, and the vassals are to pay yearly the sum of three pennies Scots money, with one penny further augmentation thereof at the term of Whitsunday, " and answering and obeying his Lordship's regality Courts of Drem and affixing upon the most conspicuous part of the said tenement the Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, and for want or failure thereof these presents are declared void, etc." Other extant titles show that all owners or vassals of Temple lands were similarly bound to exhibit the Cross of St. John so as to mark off their lands from burgage holdings. These crosses have all disappeared in our day, but the Cross on No. 71 was visible as late as 1807 as Grierson mentions it in the first edition of his history published in that year. Perhaps it is there still hid beneath the harling and yellow wash ! The only outward and visible sign of the reign of the Templars is the helmeted head with the broken nose on the front of No. 4 Baker Lane, which may have a history of seven centuries behind it.

No. 71 South Street is one of the most interesting mediaeval houses in the city and perhaps the oldest, and there is every probability that it is only part of a larger mansion or keep which included No. 67 as well. A " back jamb " of the latter, as it is called in the old Titles, stands end on to South Street, its lower floor being a series of three stone vaults—each with a door and a



Temple Tenements in North Street—78, 80, and 82.



TEMPLE TENEMENTS IN SOUTH STREET.

small window. Above these is the remains of a long and rather fine apartment—now divided—which has been entered at its own level by a door to which access must have been got by a ladder or outside stair from the Court on the east. The gable next South Street, part of which yet remains, is—and has been—about seven feet thick. This seems the earlier building and the Templars Quarters may have been in the long apartment while their horses were stabled in the vaults below.

When No. 71 was built—as a later extension—it was advanced nearer South Street by about 17 feet as its vaults still shew. What connection the new and the old had on the upper storey is not apparent but a fine stone doorway—yet existing—is the connection below ; moreover, the vault into which the connection is made remains attached to No. 71, while all above and at both ends belongs to No. 67. A “great stair,” referred to in old Titles, was probably then built at the back and in the angle formed by the junction of the newer building with the older—the outer walls of which are still *in situ* and *inter alia* enclose a bedroom.

This newer building was probably an outcome of the growing opulence of the Templars and may have been a retreat for such aged and worn-out Knights as returned from service in the Holy Land, and as an occasional lodging for the Grand Master when he came to St. Andrews on the business of the Order—he was often an Englishman, and when so, was Chief in both Countries. Recruiting their ranks, thinned by the wastage of war and disease in Eastern lands, was an interest that had also to be provided for.

It may be taken, as at least probable, that the whole Quadrangle was enclosed by defensive walls and that the

Entrance or Entrances was by Gateways through them and not through any building, and farther, that all doors into the Hospice were from within the Quadrangle, and not from the street.

When the Knights of St. John came into possession, their Preceptor may have occasionally lived here also, but it is pretty evident that they soon converted their inheritance into money by feuing off all their frontages to the Wynd and the two Streets—north and south. The feuars, however, seem to have got nothing but their house steads in the Wynd and in Market Street only a very little more, and, therefore, the larger part of the old garden of the Templars remains to the present day with No. 71, and there is a tradition that Mary Queen of Scots shot at the butts in it.*

The Land of Heather had always plenty of sons, if not much else of worldly wealth, with good stomachs for fighting wherever that pastime was to be had, and many from this corner of Fife may have had their bones laid in the bosom of the Syrian desert, from the days of Godfrey to those of Richard of the Lion Heart. The Orders held many properties, both burgh and landward. Nearly every burgh in central and southern Scotland had one or more "Temple tenements," but Edinburgh and St. Andrews were their strongholds. Maitland, in his history of Edinburgh, says—"At the foot of West Bow Street in this parish was a foreign jurisdiction belonging to the Baron of Drem who had a regality of certain Temple lands erected in his favour. Here are diverse houses belonging to it, which are distinguished by a cross on the

* It is believed that the value of this inheritance considerably exceeded that of their own possessions as was the case all over Scotland.

top of their chimneys and the fronts of their houses. When a Court is held in this part of the regality, it is in one of the said houses at the choice of the bailiff. The Barons of Drem claim a right to empower unfreemen to exercise their several trades in the houses belonging to the regality. This jurisdiction being by Edinburghers regarded as a badge of slavery by its being held within their walls, frequent attempts were made to purchase the same from the Baron or Lord of the regality. But, an Act of Parliament being made in the year 1747 to abolish the Scottish jurisdictions, the citizens without the least expense have luckily got rid of it." How the Magistrates of St. Andrews took this "foreign jurisdiction" in their midst, if it was ever exercised, is not known; but as shown in all the charters of the Temple tenements it was claimed. Though not expressly stated in regard to these tenements, the Act of 1747 seems by implication to take away all those privileges, and they, by the changed conditions of the times, had become of so little value as not to be worth contesting. When the enclosing walls were removed to make way for the houses, entrances to them had to be from the Street and No. 71 then got a large outside-stair on what is now the pavement for access to its principal floor above the vaulting, which stair people not long dead remembered. Sometime in the earlier half of last century the present Entrance was cut *through* the vaulting at the Street level and the stair removed. The stair of No. 67 still remains in the close. The Superiors are now the "Provost, Dean of Guild, Bailies, and Council and their successors in office," who on the 8th of March, 1844, grant a charter of Novodamus to Dr. John Hunter's trustees of a Templar tenement in North Street on the usual conditions, viz., "Twelve

pennies Scots in the name of feu duty on the twenty-ninth day of August yearly, being the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, and answering and observing the regality Courts of Drem as far as these are not abolished by law, and farther, affixing and keeping upon the most conspicuous part of the said tenement the Cross of St. John of Jerusalem as the distinguishing mark betwixt the Burgage and Templar lands."

On the 14th May, 1888, Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to grant a charter of Incorporation to the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and to "declare that Her Majesty the Queen is the Sovereign Head and Patron of the Order and that on the eve of St. John the Baptist next following His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales¹ shall become the Grand Prior of the Order."

In consequence of the above charter a lion passant gardant and a unicorn passant placed alternately, was added to the angles of the Cross in the Arms.²

(1) The Late King Edward VII.

(2) "Elvin's Heraldry" page 73.

CHAPTER II.

THE " ABBEY WALL."

John Hepburn, Prior of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Andrews, was the fourth of the five sons of Patrick Hepburn, second Lord Hailes. Lord Hailes' eldest son became the first of the short-lived line of the Hepburn Earls of Bothwell, as James Hepburn, Queen Mary's lover and husband, was the fourth and last. The second son, Sir Adam Hepburn, was master of the King's Stable, the other three, including the Prior, were Churchmen; the eldest ultimately became Bishop of the Isles, and the youngest Bishop of Moray. What preferment John held in early life is not known, but in 1482 we find him installed as Prior of St. Andrews. During his Priorate of some forty years, and amongst his other activities, he did two things, at least, by which he has stamped his individuality on the city of his adoption as few of its sons have done—he founded a College and he built a wall, both of which survive to this day. The College was founded for the training of a more educated priesthood for the service of the Church, which priesthood was to help to "steady the storm-tossed Bark of St. Peter"—by that time in some danger of shipwreck.

Just why the wall was built is nowhere avowed though it is probable that it was mainly to gratify his pride and his passion for grandiose building and, mayhap, to annoy his successful rival, the Archbishop, by shutting him out of the Conventual precincts. However that may be, individual men and communities of men have in all ages liked to surround themselves with walls—they are a

defence from enemies without in unsettled times, they afford shelter from the elements at all times, and from the prying eyes of the curious. All the old Religious Houses had gardens—at first common (following Acts iv. and 32), but by the Prior's time the common garden, like the common dormitory had become divided, each Monk or Canon having a portion for his own use or pleasure—a common way only running through. The money portions or pensions which each man had for extra food or clothing beyond his share of the common stock are still known as " Monk's pittance " The relaxed discipline of the XV. and XVI. centuries resulted in loose morals and much luxury in living, the common Monks had got to scorning the plain fare, homely habit and devout asceticism of their predecessors ; besides which the Monasteries had become rich. This more affluent and luxurious life coveted sheltered nooks and sunny corners and greater privacy from the outside world. A wall on the storm swept promontory of the Kirkhill would to some extent ensure that " the wind of heaven should not visit their cheeks too roughly," and as a considerable and populous city had grown up to the west, the gregarious instincts of human nature doubtless led many to wander where they were not wanted.

Although there must have been many devout souls who merited the beatitude of the pure in heart, the times were evil. Many great Churchmen, bound by the vows of " poverty, chastity, and obedience," lived in fine palaces, and were the fathers of large families, and in the humbler manses of the seculars was too often to be found the unholy presence of the unwedded wife. The " Reverend Father in God " in St. Andrews was the King's (James IV.) bastard son, a youth of twenty-two

(appointed at eighteen). He perished with his infatuated father on Flodden field, and there were soon three candidates in the field for his post—Gavin Douglas (translator of Virgil), backed by the Court and the Douglasses ; our Prior, elected by the Canons and backed by the Hepburns, and Andrew Forman, then Bishop of Moray, nominated and supported by the Pope. After the usual warlike and worldly fight for a spiritual office, Forman prevailed, and was installed Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Prior, however, as a condition of his keeping the peace bargained for, and got, a considerable pension out of the Archiepiscopal revenues, which, doubtless, helped to put him in funds for the wall. This pension the next King (James V.) begged the Pope to help him to get back again to the See after the Prior's death. He was a masterful man the Prior, fond of the mortar tub, and deeply embued with personal and family pride, as witness his armorial displays here and in other parts of the city. This wall of decadent art and obvious ostentation was not intended as a defence to the City, but only to enclose what was nothing more than a park, on its eastern outskirt. It was not, however, to be a park wall, but an imitation mediaeval Town wall with towers and bastions, and having an ecclesiastical character given to it by the corbelled out and canopied niches for statuary which adorned the outer faces of the towers. The City never had any other or better defences than the Gates or ports at the ends of the streets leading to landward and the adjoining house gables and garden walls. This was to be a more ambitious effort.

What determined its special course was, no doubt, partly the existence of ancient boundaries and partly the configuration of the ground. On the north-east and

east there was a road from the town to the haven or harbour ; there was also the precinct of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary on the Rock—the Provost and Prebendaries of which were generally hostile neighbours. From their territories southwards uneven ground, on higher and lower levels with possibly a hollow between, had determined the course of the wall, which was naturally built on the higher level, thus cutting off the lower and leaving it outside. This may have been debateable land anyway, but the City fathers according to their wont considered all unenclosed ground theirs and part of the patrimony of the Town, while the Prior equally thought it was his, though now cut off by his new wall, then building. When in 1518 he resolved to build a new Mill, doubtless for the service of the town and neighbourhood (as he was shutting *in* the "Abbey Mill ") he chose this as a site, but the Fathers intervened and there was a " row." In the end the mill and its site remained with the Prior and the rest with the Town, and though much water has flowed under the wheel since that time—almost four hundred years ago, the " shore mill " stands to this day, but, " the miller " has gone forever. From the shore mill to the Dovecote Tower the " conterminous proprietor " was the town in right of the haven and the contiguous road. From this Tower westwards for a hundred yards another little tongue of land on which Abbey Cottage and the old toll house now stand was similarly cut off as costing probably more to enclose than it was worth and which, as before, fell to the Town. For the rest of the way on this south-west side the boundary was the old road which from early times extended from the Eastburn Wynd to the Stermolin bridge (now the Shore bridge)—and incidentally to the haven.

In times just a little later than those now in question this road is described as " the highway on the south side of the Monastery wall." From the tower opposite the Convalescent Home, the wall turns about due north to the east gable of what was St. Leonard's College buildings where it terminates. The whole length from start to finish measured along a medial line is 1014 one-ninth yards " or thereby." There is no evidence that it was ever continued to the Pends—the Gatehouse of the Monastery. The whole precincts were thus enclosed from the north-east corner of the Cathedral by the wall which circles away round for nearly five-eighths of a mile back again towards the south-west corner—the West Front and the North side being left out. The Great Church was the Cathedral of the Archbishop and of the Diocese, but it was also the " Monastery Church," entered as such by the Prior and Canons—who formed the chapter—from their own cloister ; *their* sides, the east and south, were enclosed, but the other sides, west and north, were not. The Monastery itself was enclosed as was also the gardens, the cemetery, many domestic offices, the Grange, the Teind barn, the new Hospital, the guest hall, and many " yairds " and crofts of cultivated land extending in all to twenty-two acres. There was also supposed to be enclosed a Monastic community which probably at no time numbered a hundred persons.

A characteristic feature of the wall is its irregularity, due as indicated to the existence of ancient boundaries. Its course is a series of thirteen straight stretches or panels, no two of which are parallel to the same plane or the same length. This, however, was the easiest way of building on boundaries nowhere straight in themselves and the towers were set down at suitable intervals to

mask or conceal the effect of discontinuity or changes in direction, and to act as buttresses. Long and high walls (not very thick) are not easily built straight and plumb and kept so, but the towers in addition to their ornamental and defensive functions—if they had any—secured that end.

Returning to the east end of the Cathedral, the wall starts straight out from the angle buttress a distance of some forty feet and there, at right angles, it turns to the south-east ; the corner being formed by the stair tower by which access was gained to the top of the wall. In this forty feet there is the large, round arched, gateway with the debased and meanly executed niche above, in which are the remains of a stone effigy, doubtless, a Madonna,—the " last Saint " according to Mr. Lang. This was probably a back entrance for the service of the gardens and pleasure grounds, and for the kitchen and its offices. A slab or unframed panel to the left of the niche bears the personal arms of the Prior and the blazon of all the Hepburns—on a chevron, two lions combatant rending a rose. A Pastoral staff technically " passed up the back " indicates his ecclesiastical rank. His motto, " AD VITAM," is on the label above, or, rather in this case, it is " AD VITA "—the artist had not left himself room for the final M and just put a contraction mark over the A instead, or perhaps the whole thing is a learned conceit. It was at this " North Church Stile of the Abbey Church of St. Andrews " where, according to Foxe, young Henry Forrest was in October, 1533, done to death by the cremating of his *living* body by such shepherds of the people as then were.

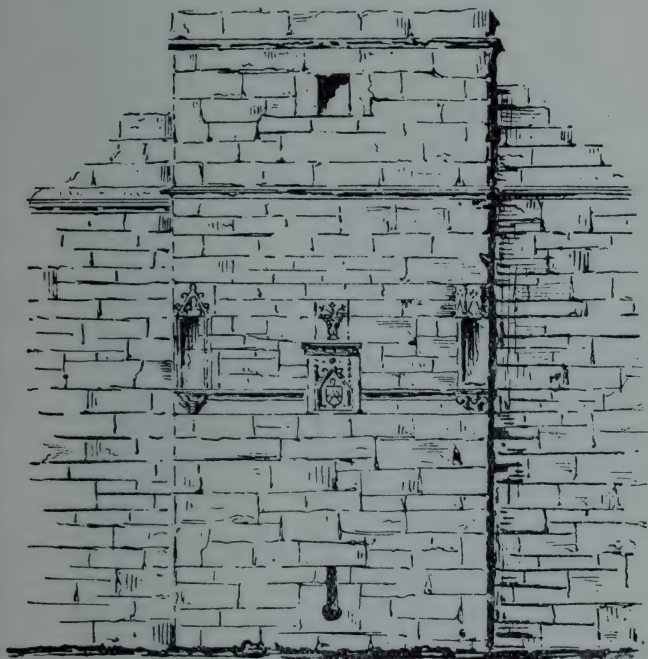
The local situation is best realised by keeping in mind that from the tower there is a short wall going westwards

about twenty-five feet, which there turned northward to the cliff above the " Danes Wark." In this wall was a gateway giving passage to the harbour road and to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary on the Rock. All trace of this latter wall (and gateway) have long disappeared except the mark on the wall where it abutted.

Following the course eastward the first object of interest is " the Haunted Tower," which had a room, up a short stair, and a vault below. At some later time this room was appropriated as a family mausoleum which was filled and finally built up. The northern face has some architectural pretensions, and appears to have been partly built out of materials probably got from the Old Parish Church which stood just within. One whole course of the masonry is moulded jambs and mullions from some ecclesiastical building near, and the angle niches are not free of the suspicion of having the same origin. Within a framed panel are again the Hepburn Arms and the Prior's initials (imperfect), this time surmounted by a pot of flowering lilies. The bride in the song is made to say " I am the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valleys," and these emblems represented to the mediaeval church the beauty and the purity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. They may have been inserted here in honour of the Church of St. Mary on the Rock which adjoined. On this first stretch of wall there is quite a perceptible bend southward—the only deviation from the rigidly straight lines that obtain everywhere else—some circumstance now forgotten being the determining cause.

The next tower is round, or rather a half round, outwardly, but there is now no entrance to its interior, if it ever had one ; possibly an entrance has been covered

over by the Playfair monument ; the old maps, however, show nothing. The wall head on its outer face had a kind of billeted corbel cornice with a continuous moulded course on top. Above this was a parapet or " battlement." On the inner face, but without the corbels was another



" HAUNTED TOWER " AND THE ABBEY WALL.

battlement, and between the two a pathway on the flagstone coping along which men could walk on the top of the wall and which might be manned for defence. The pathway passed through the towers, and there are

the remains of at least three corbelled out circular open turrets for passing or for standing places. This arrangement probably obtained all the way to the harbour port. The remains of the last corbelling within the gas work has as its first member a very good sculptured human face—the only bit of figure sculpture on the whole wall.

The Ordinance map of 1855 shows two square towers, or rather half towers (for the inner halves had by this time fallen or been removed) at the turn near the flagstaff. The reason for two so close together is not very apparent, the right one aligns with the adjoining wall, but the other aligns with nothing, it has, however, ceased to offend as it now " only exists on paper," *i.e.*, on the map. It mysteriously disappeared some thirty odd years ago, a good stretch of the wall to southward having gone before. There are now only thirteen of the sixteen towers counted by Martine previous to 1683 ; this was one of those now amissing.

The Tower enclosed within the gas work has an interest of its own. It is round in form, and on its outer face bears a Latin inscription of somewhat obscure meaning, but which seems to indicate that from here Patrick Hepburn extended and adorned his predecessors great work. The words in large floriated capitals run thus—"PRECESSORIS OP: POR: HIC PATR. HEP-BURN EXCOLIT IGREGIUS ORBE SALUT." In the centre of the line after "HEP" there is a square stone with a shield bearing the Hepburn Arms and the letters BU on one side and RN on the other, making the final syllable of HEPBURN. The motto "EXPECTO" is divided by the shield in the same way, EXP. ECTO. The intention seems to have been to

have an equal number of letters on each side of the central feature, viz., the shield, but as they stand now there are twenty-six on the left side and only twenty-four on the right—but there may be two wanting on this side. Dr. Hay Fleming invites the ingenious to give a translation—the invitation is here repeated. A learned ecclesiastic of last century translates—"Famous Patrick Hepburn



HEPBURN ARMS ON "THE INSCRIBED TOWER."

completed his predecessor's work reaching thus far as a safeguard to the city," but the wall was no safeguard to the city and never was so intended, it only "walled in" the precinct of the Monastery, nothing more.

The Harbour port, Millport or Sea Yett, for it has had all these names, is in the ordinary or traditional style of

town or city gates. It has a central round arched opening, and has *had* the usual two flanking towers, though only one now survives and it has now no entrance. That the other stood equi-distant on the north of the central opening, where the footpath now is, there need be no doubt, and it probably contained a stair giving access to the top of the wall and the sort of battlement above the gate. One more of the missing towers is here accounted for. Above the crown of the arch is again the Hepburn Arms in a panel, but for lack of the motto it cannot be said for certain whether they are those of John the uncle or Patrick the nephew, probably the latter. Over the Arms is an empty niche, and above all the corbelling of a semi-circular kind of oriel or balcony possibly for some kind of imitation defence to the gate below. A panel on the left of the corbelling bears once more the Hepburn Arms while a similar panel on the right (the sill of which is *in situ*) doubtless displayed them a third time and all within a few feet of each other—such is human egoism and megalomania.

Between the Harbour port and the next tower southwards there is a series of doors and windows—four doors and three windows, evidently for the service of offices that were intended, and perhaps actually existed behind the wall. The Canons had seaborne goods to house, and probably fish teind to collect. There is another large door near the tower, now built up, which communicated with the interior or entered some building no longer in existence. This tower is also half round and similar to all the others of the same type. The Dovecote Tower is a three-quarter round and probably in its youth carried a conical roof of wood and "gray" slates with pigeon cotes, for it fulfilled the very useful function of a pigeon

house. The birds were a valuable table asset of those days and if they cost something to house they cost little to feed, the neighbours' crops being as often requisitioned as those of the owners', as was probably intended.

The South Gate or Port is the most ornate and ambitious of all the three and according to Martine was " the common entrie for carts with the teynd sheaves of the Prior Aikers." Whether it ever served any other end may, of course, be doubted, but that it was intended for a greater purpose than a mere gate to the farmyard and for six weeks in harvest there can be no doubt. A grand Entrance and Warder's Lodge to and from the south to landward, and the coast towns and even coast ways to the Capital was evidently the intention, whether it was ultimately realised or not. It has two arched openings, one for a carriage-way and one for a footway, both in the pointed style and in two orders. The flanking towers are similar to those at the Harbour port, and at the same distances apart, and the row of six windows indicates the existence of some habitable dwelling above. Patrick Hepburn was the last canonical Prior of St. Andrews, and this gateway, if finished, would hardly be more than ten or twelve years old when in 1535 he removed to Elgin as Bishop of Moray, where true to his old predilections he " hall marked " both the Bishop's House and Spynie Castle with the eternal Hepburn Arms. In 1538 it was still the " new Abbey Gate " when James V.'s bride—Mary of Guise—was admitted within its portal with the quaint ceremonial detailed by Pitscottie.

The next tower north-westwards is also half round, and like all the others, and so probably was the next again—the *third* missing tower—that stood opposite the Burgh School. The last tower on the circuit is larger than

the others and has the remains of a stair to an upper room, but is otherwise of the same character. It has, however, *two* niches, one with the Hepburn Arms on the corbel, and as the haunted tower has two and all the other surviving towers one each and the harbour port one, there are sixteen in all. That they were ever filled with statuary is not at all likely, but if they were, and the " saints and angels " of the romancers have all disappeared, the artistic loss may be borne with equanimity—sixteenth century sculpture was not admirable, and Patrick Hepburn's " angels " were of the fallen sort anyway. The Hepburn Arms appear ten times in the circuit of the wall, the fragment above the harbour port already referred to being counted as one. The gateway that gives entrance to St. Leonard's College from the east plainly does not belong to this, but to a later period. All the other gate and door openings have the semi-ecclesiastical splay by way of edge decoration on their jambs and arches, while this has the roll or bowtel moulding of the castellated and domestic styles, and as the Lennox Arms fill a panel above, it was probably the work of that Robert Stewart (Bishop of Caithness, etc., etc.), who lived and died there, and whose monument is in the old Parish Church.

How much of the wall was accomplished in the lifetime of the founder cannot now be known. He is usually said to have died in 1522, but possibly not till 1525—nine or ten years after the founding. The work was carried on by his nephew the aforesaid Patrick, who was the son of that first Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, already referred to. He was one of the most flagrant violaters of his monastic vow of chastity in that vile age. His successor at St. Andrews was another King's (James V.) bastard son,

then of the mature age of two years. This infantile Prior is variously known to history in his later life as the Prior of St. Andrews, the Regent Murray, and even as the good Regent. He was half-brother to Queen Mary.

The height of the wall at the "Lantern Tower" is fully twenty feet above the lowest ground, diminishing to about nineteen feet at the turn near the flagstaff, from there southward to the "inscribed" tower all the wall above the higher ground has disappeared. With this and two other short exceptions, a fairly uniform height of from eighteen to twenty feet is maintained most of the way round. The thickness is three and a half to four feet—a proportion much the same as a modern garden dyke—the thickness about one-sixth of the height. There have been about eight thousand yards of straight building in it and about six hundred yards of circular. Fifty masons with the due proportion of labourers, quarriers and draught cattle would have a ten years' job at it and a smaller "squad" proportionally longer. Something like twenty thousand loads of stones were quarried and carted to it from somewhere? We read of Eastern Kings of the ancient world building enormous walls, a hundred feet high and twenty-five feet thick—and of bricks; but whole nations carried into captivity supplied the labour; our Priors must have paid hard money or money's worth for the labour of their time, and the pay bill could hardly be less (even as money then was) than a hundred pounds a week for all those years.

The wall would hardly be a generation old when the whole fabric of the Mediaeval Church came tumbling to the ground. Plenty of people living at the Reformation would remember its building, and doubtless there was the usual number of economical souls who thought it "a

great waste of the ratepayers' money." If it was intended as a defence of the Church visible it was inappropriate and unnecessary, the danger was not one it could avert—the chief enemy was within the gates, not without. John Knox—an East Lothian man like the Hepburns themselves—would be just coming into the world when the building began, and a man of twenty when the new Bishop of Moray left St. Andrews—and events were moving fast.

The wall enclosing the garden of St. Leonard's was also built by the elder Hepburn, but it has no pretensions to be other than a good garden wall, as may yet be seen behind the houses on the east of Abbey Street. The tower at the south end has been designed to form one side of a new " town gate," probably to take the place of the earlier portal which stood further up the street. It is in all respects similar to the round towers of the Abbey wall and is usually counted as one of them. If there ever was another side to this intended gateway—which is not likely, it has long since disappeared. The wall next the " Abbey Walk " is modern, or a little previous to 1824.



The "Haunted Tower."

CHAPTER III.

“THE HAUNTED TOWER.”

In the course of writing on the subject of the Abbey Wall the Haunted Tower was promised a chapter to itself. The Tower is unique amongst the many towers on the wall, being rectangular, while the others, with unimportant exceptions, are half circles or half cylinders set on end. It is, however, a “hollow fraud,” for while it stands fair and foursquare to all outward seeming, no one of its walls exceeds seventeen inches in thickness—less by a fourth than the commonest wall of the commonest house of our own time.

It is two storeys in height—almost three—and the under floor has the usual gun-holes for raking the faces of the wall; otherwise its shape and size have been determined by the room above, which it carries. This room is reached by an outside stair so inserted in the west corner as to be altogether outside and yet within the main lines of the building which is corbelled over it. One result of that arrangement is that the lower and upper rooms are the shape of the letter L; their greatest length is about 10 feet 8 inches; their greatest width 6 feet 3 inches and the narrowest 3 feet 3 inches. As the outside dimensions are 13 feet 6 inches by about 9 feet 1 inch it will be seen that only about 17 inches is left for each of the external walls. There may have been—very probably there was—a window in the southern wall where the monument now is.

This room never can have fulfilled any exalted function, it might be dignified by the name of an oratory but more probably it was a summer lounge and watch tower

overlooking the Monastery gardens for the prevention of “ Slothful brethren ” amongst the Canons giving themselves to that “ idleness or foolish talk ” which their rule forbade.

The much interest manifested in its purposes in recent years is due to the fact that it contained certain confined but unburied human bodies. Apparently from the time of their consignment to this gloomy vault a tradition had lingered on from one generation to another that such bodies were there—the precise circumstances would be forgotten—but people continued to call it the “ Haunted Tower,” and in earlier times ran past it on their way to and from the shore if it were dark.

Previous to the year 1868 the stair led up to the blank wall of what was apparently a built-up door. In that year a few adventurous spirits, greatly daring, met on a summer’s morning, very early, and breaking a hole in the wall crept in and saw by the light of their candles about ten or eleven half-mummified bodies partly in grave clothes and in coffins more or less decayed. The coffins were in the long leg of the L—laid two in the width—and apparently had been piled up to about five or more in the height. After a brief examination and some mental notes made they came out again a little “ skeered ” by their adventure, and vowing eternal secrecy had the hole built up again and all before the sleeping town knew what was being done.

Some twenty-three years later a privileged party obtained access again but they found little but the remains of the coffins ; probably the admission of light and air at the first opening had hastened the natural decay of the bodies for they had literally returned to the dust from which man came. At that time the coffin

remains were gathered together and put, where they still are, at the extreme leftward end of the vault out of view from the door opening and a grill—the predecessor of the present gate—put on. The mural monument on the southern face of the Tower has also excited interest as probably being connected with the bodies within.

The result of much “ howking,” sifting and comparing has led to the following conclusions :—

I. The room was constructed for some purpose connected with the Monastery gardens—which it overlooked—espionage probably.

II. The now indecipherable monument was erected to the memory of Katherine Clephane, wife of John Martine of Denbrae.

III. The bodies were those of these two and of their children, some of whom are known to have died of the plague in 1605.

The first conclusion hardly needs further remark, but the second may require justification. Of the many families who have enjoyed extensive respect and esteem in St. Andrews none are more outstanding than the Martines. From Thomas Martine, who sold his house and garden in the Butts Wynd to Bishop Kennedy, when he was acquiring the land on which he built his College of St. Salvator, before 1450, down to George Martine of Clermont, the author of the “ *Reliquiae Divi Andreae* ” who died in 1712, they filled all kinds of offices, both in Church and State. They were lairds, parsons, professors, lawyers, and merchants, to say nothing of being Elders and Bailies—one was even Provost, George Martine, in 1456. They were apparently always on the growing hand, and their historian has not failed to tell the whole tale of all their power and greatness ; discreetly veiling,

however, some severe lapses from virtue that are recorded in the Kirk Session Register against certain members of the Clan—notably a Mr. James of Lathones.

One of the numerous John Martines was in the sixteenth century Laird of Denbrae, and had married in 1567 Katherine Clephane of Carslogie—an estate near Cupar, held by that very ancient family for twenty generations from father to son till the male line failed in 1803. George Clephane, the lady's brother, was one of those unquiet spirits who keep a whole countryside in turmoil. Several of his adventures brought him within the wind of the law as recorded in the Register of the Privy Council. The special nature of the quarrel or quarrels between him and his brother-in-law is immaterial, but the result to John Martine was that he had to sell his estate of Denbrae to pay the expenses of his many law suits. It is satisfactory, however, to know that his son, George Martine, was able to buy back Denbrae and to add some farther landed estate to his fortune.

The connection of all this with the “ Haunted Tower ” is, that it is practically certain that the mural monument erected thereon was to the memory of John Martine and especially to that of his wife, Katherine Clephane. This monument and another on the wall some yards farther east are of the same design, materials and date—1609, the upper terminations only being different. On the latter the shields (three) are side by side above a level cornice and bear the Arms impaled of well-known east Fife families. On the dexter, Andrew Trail and his wife, Helen Myrton, in the centre Helen Myrton and her second husband, Sir Robert Dennistoun, and on the sinister, James Trail and his wife, Matilda Melville. The Trails were of Blebo, the Myrtons of Cambo, and the Melvilles

of Carnbee. Sir Robert Dennistoun was long Scots Conservator in the low countries, at Camprere, and was of the family of Colgrain, in Dumbartonshire, after whom the Dennistoun district of Glasgow is named. James Trail was a sma' laird in the Parish of Dunino and was the builder of the monument, which is a fine grained freestone with a marble panel—the inscription on which is wholly indecipherable.

The initials of the Squires are at the tops of the shields and those of the Dames at the sides. Monteith's "Theatre of Mortality" has a copy of the inscription with an English translation printed by that industrious antiquary in the first edition of his book published in 1702. The heraldry of the Tower monument has been arranged somewhat differently. There are the same three shields but enclosed within a segmental pediment. The dexter shield is quite defaced, the sinister is so far defaced that no charges can be made out, though the outline of the shield itself is fairly traceable.

The centre shield is in fair preservation and bears a lion rampant, the cognizance of the Clephanes, and the initials "K" on one side and "C" on the other and below "1609." It has long been thought that these initials must be "K.G." and that the Arms were either those of Guthrie or Gray, but no member of either of these families can be found within the period in Fife that would in any degree fit into the circumstances. The initial "K" is fatal—no male name beginning with that letter is to be found in any known list of Fife names—at least belonging to any family that bore a lion rampant on its shield. On the other hand the Katherines of the periods spelt with the intital K. Amongst other known examples there is yet to be seen at the old house of

Carslogie one of those triangular panels that used to adorn window heads and on which there were more or less floriated designs with Arms and initials.

In this case two circles are worked into the design in which are “ G.C.” and “ K.O.” respectively—George Clephane and Katherine Orme—the brother and sister-in-law of the spouse of John Martine.

If it be objected that the second letter is like a G, it may be successfully maintained that it is just as like a C with a little flourish at the tail, made by the sculptor for his own gratification. That little tag at the end of the C is not sufficient to outweigh all the other evidence that makes for the claim of Katherine Clephane, the Lady of Denbrae, as the person chiefly commemorated on the monument.

When she died is not recorded but John Martine married again—a certain Sibilla Wardlaw—and died in 1608. All the probabilities, therefore, are that the monument was built in the following year—1609—and by George Martine (who re-acquired Denbrae) to the memory of his mother and father. There is even some small evidence that Sibilla Wardlaw is also commemorated. This George Martine was a regent, a master, and ultimately Provost of St. Salvator’s College, in which office he succeeded his uncle, Dr. James Martine. The family historian says :—“ This Catherine Clepane bore Mr. George Martine and three daughters : the eldest, Margaret, married David Carstairs, called Gado, and bore David Carstairs, the famous merchant, in Polland. The other two, Christian and . . . Martine, died of the great plague at St. Andrews, anno 1605.”

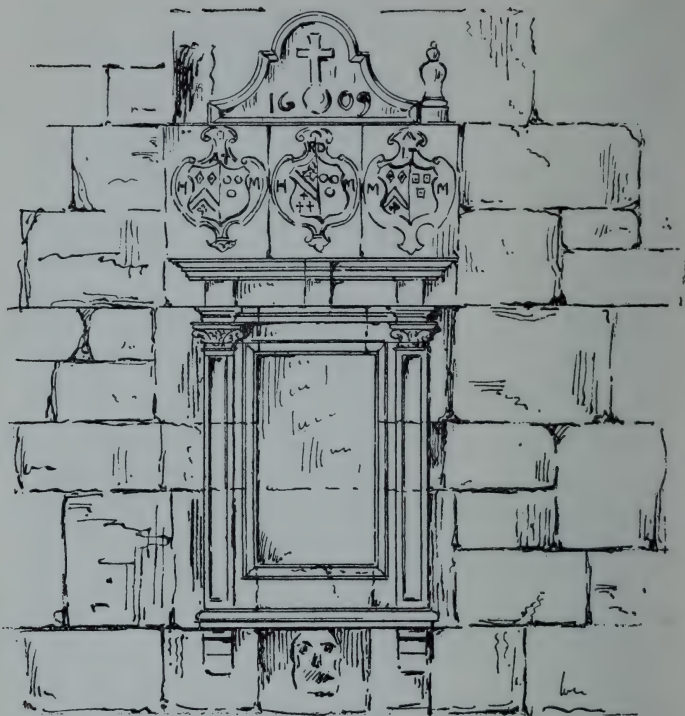
These Martines of Denbrae—cherishing a good conceit of themselves—had appropriated Prior Hepburn’s old

Summer house and Watch tower as a family mausoleum, and when they were all laid in it, including the girls who died of the plague and perhaps the last laird himself, it was built up.

Scotch merchants in “ Polland ” were very numerous about this time, and it is said that in 1621 there were 30,000 of them and the Poles complained bitterly of their presence. Perhaps some may be interested in knowing that the lady who was authoress of the “ Ninety and Nine ” in our hymn books was a Clephane of Carslogie, her father—a brother of the last laird of his name—having been Sheriff-Substitute at Cupar in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

Why Monteith did not copy the inscription as he did the other of the same date we do not know—perhaps it was already illegible—being by his time nearly a hundred years old ; inscriptions on marble do not stand our northern climate very long. It would be interesting to know if any of the present day Martins claim descent from this old St. Andrews family.

CHAPTER IV.



TRAIL MONUMENT.

This monument—referred to in the “ Haunted Tower ” —is, as there mentioned, a little farther east on the “ Abbey Wall,” and is like the Tower Monument in that it is of the same date, design, and materials, and is erected to memory of two East Fife ladies who, as aftermentioned, died in the same year—1609. It challenges attention partly by its date, renaissance design, and its traces of a now indecipherable inscription, but chiefly by its great display of squire

heraldry. On examination it is found that the persons there commemorated are also worthy of attention, both for what they were themselves, in their own day, and for the eminence in public life attained by several of their descendants.

On the dexter the arms are those of Colonel Andrew Trail of the House of Blebo, impaling those of his wife Helen Myrton of Cambo. In the centre are the arms of Sir Robert Dennistoun, also impaling those of Helen Myrton whom he married after the death of Colonel Trail. On the sinister the arms are those of James Trail, son of Colonel Trail, impaling those of his wife Matilda Melville of Carnbee. The initials of the husbands are above the shields and those of the wives at the sides. The defaced inscription has been preserved by the ubiquitous Monteith and is by him "Englished" thus—"Consecrate to the memory of Helen Myrton, a most deserving matron, first spouse to an excellent man, Colonel Andrew Trail: thereafter spouse to Sir Robert Dennistoun, Knight, Counsellor and Conservator: she died 13th February, 1608. As also to the memory of Matilda Melville, a most godly woman and most choice spouse to James Trail: her mournful husband erected this monument: she died 23rd November, 1608." It will be observed that both these ladies died in the same year as John Martine of Denbrae, and of the "Haunted Tower."

Colonel Trail, like many another Scottish younger son, with poor outlooks at home took foreign service. Holland was then in the throes of that terrible struggle with Philip II. of Spain so graphically described by Motley in his "Rise of the Dutch Republic." It will not surprise readers of that work to learn that the arrears of pay due to Colonel Trail when he left the Netherlands

amounted to £2,700—the poor harried country was unable to pay its way.

He had bonds for the sum on Bruges and other towns in Flanders which he had better never had seen as they were never realised—the very attempt to do so nearly ruined his son—the builder of the monument—then a small laird living on his property in the Parish of Dunino. Col. Trail afterwards transferred his services to the King of Navarre and was engaged in his wars on the Protestant side in France, and on his return to Britain was made a gentleman of the bedchamber to James VI.'s son, Prince Henry.

His son, James Trail, who married Matilda Melville, had two sons born to him at Dunino, James and Robert. Robert was born in 1603 and educated at St. Andrews. In 1639 he was ordained minister at Elie, in 1649 he was translated to Greyfriars, Edinburgh, and in 1650 he was one of "The Grim Geneva Ministers" who, according to Professor Ayton, attended Montrose on the scaffold.

He suffered persecution and imprisonment after the Restoration and was finally banished from Scotland in 1663 for having read and expounded a portion of Scripture in his own house. He thereupon retired to Holland where he died. He had three sons—William, Robert, and James. William was minister of Borthwick in Midlothian and was father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of the three successive ministers of Panbride from 1717 to 1850—a period of 123 years. The writer remembers—seventy years ago—hearing the last of them, Dr. David Trail, then a venerable old man, preach in his own pulpit and in that way bows acquaintance as it were across the three intervening centuries with the old Fife soldier of fortune who fought for William the Silent and Henry of Navarre.

Robert the second son was the most celebrated of the name as a preacher, and his personal courage was shewn by his fearless attendance upon James Guthrie, of Stirling, to the scaffold. He, too, suffered persecution and imprisonment, and finally closed his life in 1716 as the pastor of a Presbyterian Church in London. He outlived the persecutions of the Stuarts, and witnessed their downfall and exile. Several of his works were published in his lifetime and these were so favourably received that others were published from his MS. after his death, and finally in 1845 ten sermons on various subjects transcribed from the family MS. were issued in one volume by the Cheap Publication Society of the Free Church.

Some more of these ancient mural monuments might yield interesting facts if deciphered and put in their proper historical setting. But opportunity is passing away.



"PEEKIE MILL" BRIDGE.

At Peekie Mill, about a mile above the Railway Station

at Boarhills, an antique looking bridge of a single arch spans the water of Kenly and carries a grass-grown and now nearly deserted road. The site has been well chosen for here the stream is confined within narrow limits by a perpendicular wall of rock on the one side and a steepish bank on the other—affording solid foundations and strong abutments. The masonry has been excellent and though the drumly torrents of quite four hundred winters have poured themselves through it on their way to the all-absorbing sea, it looks as strong and enduring as ever and might say, with the “Auld brig o’ Ayr,” to more public and pretentious structures :—

“ . . . though wi’ crazy eild I’m sair forfairn
I’ll be a brig when ye’re a shapeless cairn.”

The builder of this brave auld brig was Prior John Hepburn, often referred to in these poor chapters.

The Prior tried for the Episcopal throne when it was vacant by the death of Archbishop Stewart at Flodden, but was beaten by Andrew Forman, an excellent specimen of the thriving pluralist which only those times could produce. He was Prior of Pittenweem and Bishop of Moray, but his real profession was that of a diplomatist.

In that capacity he had by his success in France and at the Court of Rome made himself so agreeable to Pope Julius II. that in gratitude he not only presented him to the vacant See of St. Andrews, but promised him a Cardinal’s hat—which he never gave—and made him *legate-a-latere*. Pope Julius had nothing to do with the auld brig at Peekie Mill, but if any one is curious on the subject of that holy father’s character, a certain Dialogue in Froude’s “Erasmus” is enlightening and highly amusing.

The old bridge has up in a corner on the left—looking up stream—the well-known arms, showing that this was

one—and not the least useful—of his many works of that kind. There is no date, but as he is thought to have died about 1525 and had been Prior for more than forty years, its approximate age is easily fixed. It was probably built to carry the old Crail Road, part of which yet exists, though disused. Bridge building was a merit in wealthy churchmen in those days and was even thought to count for something with Peter at the Gate of Paradise when they applied there for admission. It would give easy access to the Kenlys, at one time administered by the monastery on behalf of the Hospital of St. Leonard. When the Prior, in conjunction with his metropolitan—Alexander Stewart—founded the new college of St. Leonard's—just four hundred years ago—they *dis-*established the old hospital and endowed the new foundation, *inter alia* with its lands of the Kenlys, where they still remain.

Beside the bridge stands the old mill of Peekie now falling into ruin, a type of the changed days that have befallen agricultural Scotland. The familiar plash, plash of the mill wheel, the rumble of machinery and whirling millstones, and the burly form of the “dusty” miller, are fast vanishing into the limbo of half forgotten things. The lands of Peekie were in the seventeenth century mortified by John Scott of Scotstavuit—John of the “Staggering State”—to the city of Glasgow for educational purposes, where they still are.

Fragments of quaint inscriptions are built into the walls of the old mill, the sense and connection of which are not very apparent, but they might yield something to the explorer with time and patience. They are probably initials and texts of holy scripture—such as were common in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER V.

THE PARISH CHURCH.

At the beginning of the tenth century—in 908 to be precise—the primacy of the Scottish Church was transferred from Abernethy to and established at St. Andrews. Our historians in the main agree that the Primate of the time was Kellach. The Culdees on the Kirkhill then represented the religious life of the little town before it became a Cathedral City. Kellach did not come to settle amongst them, but to exercise the functions and discharge the duties of a Bishop. Amongst the essential things he manifestly required was a church—in other words a Cathedral. A Cathedral is simply a church, not necessarily larger or finer than other churches, or because it has a different service, but because it contains the throne or official seat of the Bishop. This seat is in Greek and Latin called *Cathedra*, and any church, no matter what its size, shape, or architectural pretensions—or no pretensions—is a Cathedral if it contains this essential article of ecclesiastical furniture—the Bishopstuhl, as our German cousins call it. Bishop Kellach required a church for himself, and his Cathedral establishment, such as it was, and he and the King (Constantine III.) set about providing one. It is not a certain expert view that this church of St. Regulus* can

* This name is retained in these chapters because of modern usage, but all our early historians, down to and including John Major in the beginning of the 16th century, only speak of the Church of St. Andrew of Kilrymont.

have been built at this early period, but stone churches had already been built in Scotland and especially in Ireland, and, at any rate, a contrary view is here adventured. No other date has been suggested that has any probability, and no probable founder is more likely than Kellach. The opinion which is maintained by high authorities that the founder was the Yorkshire Bishop Robert (1124-59) some two hundred years later cannot be received, at least by those who are of the other way of thinking. Assuming that Bishop Kellach was the founder—the man that required a church—the date of his death has not been ascertained, but it was probably sometime subsequent to the year 930, so that he had, at least, twenty years in which to carry out his enterprise. His immediate successor was Fothad, and Wynton tells us that

“ He made a tysstyre in that qwhyлле
Quhare-in wes closyd the wangylle,
Platyde oure wyth silvyre brigght
On the hey awtyr stand and ryght
At the north end.”

This “tysstyre” or casket enclosing the evangel was made for and laid on the High Altar of the Church of St. Andrew. It *may* have been lying on the High Altar of the later Cathedral of Wynton’s day, four hundred years later, but that hardly seems to be the meaning of honest Andro’s somewhat involved story. During the two hundred years that elapsed between the beginning of the tenth century and the beginning of the twelfth there reigned a succession of Bishops bearing Celtic names, and in their time we have frequent notices of the Church of St. Andrew, which church had a corporeal existence,

and was not a mere figure of speech, for instance, Alexander the First

“ Gart than to the awtare bryng
His cumly sted of Araby,
Sadelyd and brydeled costlykly,”

And

“ With Regale and all the lave
That to that kirk that time he gave.”

The shaft of the King's spear was afterwards made up into a pastoral staff. “ In the year 1093 Edelred, Earl of Fife, second son of Malcolm III., died and was buried in the old Church of St. Andrews, because he had been a great benefactor to that monastery.” St. Margaret presented, or erected, a most beautiful crucifix in it (seen by Turgot), “ and as the religious devotion of the people brought many from all parts to the Church of St. Andrews, she constructed dwellings on both sides of the sea, which divides Lodoneia or Lothian from Scotia,” “ that the pilgrims and the poor might put up there and rest.”

But Margaret's advent and her reforming policy began the overthrow or, at least, the submerging of the old native church, a reformation which her sons completed. After the death of the last native Bishop in 1093 there had been no successor in St. Andrews till King Alexander brought and tried to settle the first of that Anglican succession, which lasted for more than a century and a half, in the person of Turgot, who is credited—on quite insufficient evidence—with being the founder of the Parish Church. Whatever Bishop Turgot was in himself—and he seems to have been a good man—the days of the years of his pilgrimage in St. Andrews were few and full of trouble, and when he could stand it

no longer he returned to his old Monastery of Durham where he incontinently died, worn out, it is said, by his vexations. It is very unlikely that in his short Episcopate of about eight years he initiated or carried out any building enterprise, more especially a Parish Church, when Scotland was not yet divided into parishes or a parochial system thought of. Turgot was succeeded by Edmere, another Englishman, from Canterbury this time, but the old difficulties supervened, and he could not continue either and so resigned and soon died. Verily St. Andrews has been something less than kind to her Prelates !

In 1124, a few months before his death, King Alexander had Robert the Prior of Scone elected Bishop, and it is in his long Episcopate of thirty-five years that we ought to look for the founding of the Parish Church. Robert had been an Augustinian Canon of Nostell in Yorkshire, and some nine years before this time he with five companions were brought from there and settled at Scone, the first lodgment of a foreign community in central Scotland. Its objective was the reformation of the Celtic Church, and doubtless this object was to be farther advanced by his election to the See of St. Andrews. King Alexander died and David succeeded, and thus David and Robert began their rule together, the one as King and the other as Bishop, in the same year 1124, and so continued for twenty-nine years till David died in 1153—the Bishop outlived him by six years. Many changes were taking place in the country, the new Saxon settlers (invited by David), if they did not find Churches on their estates, built them and endowed them with tithes, and the manor so tithed to its church became what we call a parish. Cosmo Innes, in his delightful

way, tells us how the thing developed, which is briefly this—Thor, an Englishman, gets from King Edgar (David's eldest brother) an unsettled piece of land called Ednaham (now Ednam, beside Kelso). Thor cultivates and settles his land, and it becomes his manor. He then builds a Church, dedicates it to the Border Saint, St. Cuthbert, endows it with a ploughgate of land and with the tithes and dues of the manor. So far. Thor, who was called *longus*—for men had nicknames even in the heroic ages. But there are excellent examples of the process nearer home. Leuchars, Dairsie, Kemback, and even Dunino all have the Baron's Castle and the Parish Church side by side and of the same name. All were probably co-extensive with the original estate of the lord of the manor, and probably the parish of St. Andrews was co-extensive with barony of the Bishop and his Chapter. No record appears to exist, however, of the founding or building of the Parish Church, but it must have been by Robert, and sometime in the earlier half of his Episcopate. Other parishes were then being formed, and were getting Churches, and he had, moreover, erected St. Andrews into a Burgh with a Provost brought from Berwick-on-Tweed.

But to return to "Thor, who was called *longus*," his Church and parish, after all his pious labour, became an object of desire to the monks of Coldingham, and Thor for the weal of King Edgar's soul, his own and the souls of other friends and relatives, gives his Church to St. Cuthbert and the monks of Coldingham, and so, as Innes farther says, "This goodly framework of a parochial secular establishment was shipwrecked when hardly formed." The Religious Orders, which were greatly multiplying all over Europe, appropriated

the livings of the parishes and served the cures with miserably-paid vicars, generally members of their own Houses—a degradation of the clergy and a misappropriation of the funds, which was dearly paid for in the long-run. This is evidently what happened in St. Andrews, for the very first time we hear of our Parish Church is its being given by Bishop Richard to the Canons of the Priory apparently in the first year of his Episcopate (1163), and the gift is confirmed by the Pope, and we know that till after the middle of the thirteenth century at any rate it was served by vicars from the Kirkhill community. Other confirmations follow from time to time and one in 1183 mentions the cemetery, a necessary adjunct of a Parish Church, and in 1243 we have amongst the one hundred and forty churches dedicated by Bishop David de-Bernham “*Ecclesia Parochialis Sancti Andree eodem anno v kal Julii.*” In 1258 we hear that the community of the Kirkhill are finally deprived of their parochial status as vicars and in the next century it is mentioned as the meeting place of a consistory that was to be held once a year after Easter ; and in the fifteenth century it is being superseded by a new Church founded in the centre of the City, the civic activities of the time having moved thus far westward.

Whoever was the founder of the old church, it stood to the north, perhaps a little by west of “*St. Regulus,*” and perhaps the exact site of the later Cathedral was determined by its proximity. Of its dimensions, length and breadth, of its architectural style, whether it was a single chamber or had side aisles, cannot now be ascertained—burial makes excavation impossible. Mr. Maitland Anderson in his recent address (October 1909) tells us that it was still standing and serviceable in

1419, and it probably stood long enough to furnish some of the material for the building of the great Abbey wall, for there are moulded stones built into and about the "Haunted Tower" that certainly came from some ecclesiastical building not far off. Every age has its vandals, Bishop Arnold's masons built the fine Celtic Crosses of the old church yard into his walls, and Prior Hepburn built the moulded stones of the first Parish Church into his great wall—sad, but so it was. It had probably stood some three hundred years.

The *now* Parish Church was founded by Bishop Wardlaw in 1411 or 1412, a transeptal church with side aisles and nine bays long. It has had various vicissitudes, but on the whole retains its original form and character, and in its newest edition contains examples of pretty nearly every phase of church gothic practised in Scotland. The result is, however, very good. Amidst the destruction of ecclesiastical buildings that is ignorantly credited to the Reformers no one seems ever to have been maligned for laying unholy hands on the Parish Church. It was perhaps because the citizens had a good church and in the centre of the Town that the Friars' churches and the Cathedral were allowed to go to ruin.

The fourteenth century saw the rise of that curious form of vicarious piety, the founding and endowing of altarges and the consequent formation of the army of chaplains or chantry priests that became necessary to perform the prescribed services. The Parish Churches (old and new) of St. Andrews had their full share of these not very edifying excrescences. How to have floor space for them all and yet to have room for ordinary services must have sometimes been a problem. For instance, the altar of St. Fergus had a zealous chaplain and "he

destroyed the 'desk' and remade and improved it with a seat. He made a press or cupboard to keep the vestments in, 'hanging on the west gable of the said church,' (where the Tom Morris' monument now is) as well as a small one near the altar and a little desk before the altar. He afterwards pulled down the altar and rebuilt it, enclosing locked receptacles within it for keeping the chalice and relics. And on the altar he inserted a marble stone, consecrated and blessed. He also made a painted 'tabernacle' for the altar and remade the old chalice which was now of silver gilt and weighed more than $17\frac{1}{2}$ oz." He had besides a bone of St. Triduana : part of a neckbone and a joint of St. Fergus : and a part of the jaw of St. Bonoc ; he then made a silver shrine weighing more than 15 oz. to hold them. This Altar chaplain bearing the good old St. Andrews name of James Braid had a whole lot of other "properties" numbering some forty-five pieces in addition to the above ; and apparently to enclose the whole he constructed a wooden screen round the altar and hung an iron "herse" over with seven brass candlesticks on it. And that was only one of perhaps thirty such erections on the church floor besides the High Altar with its furniture and ornaments. Apparently the room had at last given out, for in 1528 another altar was being founded, but the chaplain and his successors were enjoined to "pray at the altar of St. Duthac in the Parish Church of St. Andrews until a cell or chapel shall have been built or repaired of new, in the cemetery of the said Church of St. Andrews."

There was, doubtless, much sweeping out and probably some pilfering at and about the Reformation. These altars were endowed by houses and lands, both within

the burgh and without, and by rents and ground annuals payable by numerous tenements all over the Town. The altar of St. Fergus had a house on the east side of what is now North Castle Street, then (1479) *vico piscatoris*, which house was bounded between the land of our Lady of Pity on the south and John Crystyson *alias* Myllar on the north. The chaplain of our Lady's altar lived in his house, and if it was next to North Street, as seems likely, and if he had an image of the Virgin in some niche, or "coign of vantage" about his house, as chaplain James Braid certainly had a "stone image of St. Fergus," that would account for the origin of the "Ladyhead" of piscatorial fame. The services at all these altars were much the same, the celebrant was to say prayers and chant masses for the repose of the soul of the founder and for all his relations and friends, as usually specified in the Obit. If the service is with *placebo* and *dirige* and the lessons it means that the whole office for the dead is to be said.

The site of the Church and churchyard was occupied by houses and "yairds" of which there were seven—seven houses built on seven rigs or tenements of land, which rigs then ran between the two streets just as there are still seven tenement frontages in Market Street. We even know the names of some of the owners, for instance a rig in the open space between the new railings and Logie's Wynd belonged to Rankin Brabonere. The next rig on the east—where the church tower and west gable now stand—belonged to Thomas Buteler; and so on to the Kirk Wynd for the other five. The Kirk Wynd only became such *after* the building of the church, *before* it was "the Vennel leading from South Street to the Market Cross." The buildings were demolished and the

Church built on six rigs only, which may account for the fact that it had no western Entrance and none of the architectural features of West Fronts in good Churches. It accounts also for the limited site as a whole, and for the very small church yard, even though it then extended well across South Street. Bishop Wardlaw, however, acquired the seventh rig later from the aforesaid Rankin Brabonere, and in 1430 "gave and confirmed" it to the town "for the enlargement and augmentation of the cemetery," from which it would appear that most of the space between the railings and the Wynd belongs to the Town. It is to be feared, however, that the Town does not render the services required by the deed of the gift, viz., "to cause an Obit to be performed for him (the Bishop) annually after his death in the said Parish Church of the Holy Trinity by at least twelve chaplains wearing their proper surplices," etc., etc. During the recent excavations roots of some size were found in the earth under the floor suggestive of pear trees growing in backyards in times antecedent to the Church. How long Logie's Wynd has enjoyed its present title is not known, but it belonged to John Leman at the period now in question. George Martine's "parish churchyard dyke" of 200 feet in length would be the same to-day if it were standing, as that is just the distance between the two Wynds. The dyke is gone and all the monuments that were on it are gone—gone, too, are names and the records of the civic virtues of those who were doubtless distinguished and leading citizens in their day. As Carlyle says, "They are all gone ; sunk—down, down with the tumult they made, and the rolling and the trampling of ever new generations passes over them ; and they hear it not any more for ever." After the

Reformation the structural interest in the church largely ceases. Various features gradually disappeared until it nearly lost its identity altogether at the beginning of the nineteenth century. An engraved plan of 1784 made by order of the Court shows wide transeptal openings in the arcades between the fourth and the seventh bays, with which the recent restoration seems hardly consistent. Otherwise the original form has been restored. The Hunter Aisle being necessary to make up sitting room, lost by the removal of the galleries, is wholly new and a work of great beauty. The original transepts seem to have been like those of the Cathedral—the height of the aisle walls only and have been so rebuilt, but a little higher.

CHAPTER VI.

“ ARGYLE.”

Quite a number of years ago there appeared in a local paper under this title and above a temporary *nom-de-plume* of the present writer a letter, *inter alia*, defending the “ natives ” of “ Argyle ” from the charge of continuing “ their vulgar practice in defiance of maps, enamelled plates and commonsense, to call this street ‘ Argyle.’ ” Though much has come and gone since that time the subject has never lost its interest. Somebody has said “ that any subject under the sun would become absorbingly interesting if one only studied it enough ”—even plain prosaic, commonplace “ Argyle,” the home of the “ Pachlers.”

Who were the people, and where did they come from, who gave occasion for this singular place name ? Sheriff Mackay has remarked that “ if we wish to know anything of Fife before the seventh century we must have recourse to Archaeology, which pursues different methods and arrives at a different kind of result from history.” It was never a Roman Province, and according to the same authority “ Fife is a dark and unknown land ” during the Roman period in Scotland. The archaeologist goes back to a time when the relative levels of sea and land were very different to what they are now, and finds that the shorelands of central Scotland have risen some 25 to 30 feet since Neolithic man first appeared on the scene. While we have few certain traces of this “ early father ” in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, traces of the higher sea level exist in the now elevated caves

and on the raised beaches all round ; for instance in the Cunningyard at the south-east and at and about the Marine Hotel at the north-west of the city, the gravel, sand, and sea-shells are found just under the surface soil as fresh as if washed by the last tide. These beaches are now many feet above the highest tides of our time, and many yards distant from the now sea margins. When these were formed by the denudation of higher lands there would be continuous sea from the North Haugh and Strathtyrum to the Braes of Angus and up the valleys for many miles, mayhap the little knoll which now carries the Kirk of Leuchars stood a solitary islet in the waste of water.

The valley level of the Kinness would be correspondingly elevated and the flowing tide would wash the bank that bounds the Cockshaugh on the north and the Neolithic man may have sailed his “ dug out ” on its waters and speared the wild swine on its banks. When these conditions gradually altered by the retiral of the sea and the elevation of the land the burn would wear its way down to its present level, the valley narrowing towards the bottom as the process goes on—as it does for ever.

A skeleton of the primitive pig was recently (in 1907) found at the bottom of the public drain in Park Street, his fine curving tusks leading easily to his identification. Remains of prehistoric man were about the same time found in the two short cists uncovered when digging for the foundations of “ Cairnbank ” and “ Norrlands ” in the now defunct “ Toll Park.” Other such remains found in the neighbourhood would seem to indicate a considerable population in and westward of “ Argyle ” at a very remote period.

When the “ Gall ” arrived who gave occasion to the name may emerge later. The primeval hog apparently gave the name to the Muckcross, but an animal much higher in the scale of being—viz., man—gave the name to Argyle—which name, moreover, remains to this day. As in the County of the same name the original form was Ard-Gall—“ Arđ ” being high or a height and “ Gall ” a stranger or foreigner, literally therefore the “ height of the stranger.” From Ard gall to Argayll, Argail and many other spellings to the modern Argyle the transition is easy. In mediaeval Scotch, as in the borderland, to this day—following the old Saxon—the stranger is the “ freme ” and “ fremit men ” strangers. Sir David Lindsay, denouncing Pedlars, says,

“ Ane dyvour Coffe, the wirry hen,
Destryes the honour of our nation
Takis gudis to frist fra fremitmen,
And brekis his obligation.”

So in Celtic, the stranger was the “ gall ” and he was either Finngall—white or fair-haired, or he was Dubhgall, dark or black-haired. The fair-haired “ gall ” was mainly Norwegian and the dark-haired Danish.

Scotland as we know it did not exist till towards the end of the tenth century ; but early in the eleventh there emerged four Kingdoms, two of which—north of the firths of Forth and Clyde—were the Scots of Dalraida on the west coast and the Picts on the east. Of these latter there were two divisions, the Northern and the Southern Picts. To the Southern Division belonged the modern counties of the Mearns, Forfar and Fife. In 796 Eocha or Auchy, succeeded to supremacy over the Dalraida Scots, who by this time, following the “ briz yont ” policy of all invaders, were pressing eastward

against the Picts. The defeat or overcoming of these Picts by the Scotie Kenneth MacAlpin in 842 and the revolution, or whatever it was which followed, united the two peoples, the Picts, as such, ceasing to exist. Kenneth was the founder of a new Dynasty, or Royal House, which lasted, notwithstanding a failure in the male line, till the death of Alexander III. at Kinghorn in 1286.

Kenneth MacAlpin was the son of Alpin, and perhaps the grandson of Eocha. Of this Alpin it is said that “in the year 834 there was a conflict between the Scots and Picts at Easter, and many of the more noble of the Picts were slain, and Alpin, King of the Scots, remained victorious, but being elated with his success he was in another battle defeated and decapitated.” Further, of King Alpin, Dr. Skene says that “the occurrence of a place near St. Andrews called Rathalpin, or Fort of Alpin, now Rathelpie seems to indicate that it was in the Province of ‘Fib,’ or Fife, that he found his support and established himself after his first success.” Alpin and his Scots had fought their way from the west till they reached the Picts of Kilrymont and the eastern sea, and then had settled on a bit of land which afterwards bore his name, and there he built a Rath and established his Court. If Dr. Skene’s conjecture is correct—and there is every probability in its favour—an interesting question arises, viz., how long did this possession of Rathalpin remain with his descendants? Succession was then by Tanist law and sometimes it was the senior and sometimes it was the junior branch of Kenneth MacAlpin’s dynasty that furnished the King. The senior branch held mainly by Angus and Mearns, and the junior by Fife, and it is very probable that Rathalpin and the lands at least of the Kenlys remained in this Fife branch of the Royal

Family until David I. gifted the latter to the Ancient Hospital and his daughter-in-law, Ada, widow of his son Prince Henry, gifted Rathalpin. In the register of the Priory we read of Rathalpin as being, in 1183, already in possession of the Hospital, and that it was the gift of the Countess Ada, who died in 1179.

This lady, an Englishwoman, daughter of William, Count of Warenne and Earl of Surrey, was the wife of Prince Henry, and by him the mother of the Kings, Malcolm the Maiden, and William the Lion, and of another Countess Ada who married Florent III., Count of Holland. *Her* descendant in the fifth generation, Florent V., more than a hundred years later, was the most interesting and aristocratic of the Competitors for the Scottish Crown in that weary business of the disputed succession consequent on the death of Alexander III.—the last male of Kenneth MacAlpin’s line and of the old Celtic Kings of Scotland. Rathalpin would doubtless come to the Countess from her husband (who died before his father), and she, perhaps in his memory, gifted this Royal desmesne to the Hospital. A very early phase of the Christian consciousness was the veneration of the worthy dead, especially if they had been martyrs. The intensity of this feeling led to the exhumation of their bones, their preservation in Shrines and Reliquaries, and to their being carried about : moreover, it soon became a Canonical rule that no church could be consecrated that did not contain relics of the Saints. Without crediting the Monkish fable (invented in St. Andrews) of the Greek Regulus with his priest, two deacons, eight holy eremites, and three devout virgins sailing all the way from Patras, in Greece, in an open boat and bringing with them certain bones of

the body of the Apostle Andrew (who was buried there), we know that *some one* brought such relics, *sometime* in the eighth century. The relics brought pilgrims, who came to worship, and an Hospital was provided for their reception and entertainment while here, and it was to *this* Hospital, located on the spot which in later times became the St. Leonard's that we know, that King David and the Countess Ada gifted the Kenlys and Rathelpie. These possessions remained with the Hospital some four hundred and fifty years, till its final suppression and the erection of St. Leonard's College on its foundation. They were then transferred to the new institution (in 1512) and consequently are now vested in the University Court. The original Ardgall—the Ardgall of a thousand years ago, was part of the lands of Rathelpie and was wholly on the north side of the road and between it and the “ Double Dykes,” the eastern boundary being roughly the railway, though the real boundary for most of the way was a small stream and lakelet called “ Dunsies Dubs ” which no longer exist. The two long sides meet in a point at the west end, and the “ height ” was probably about Kinburn place—the highest ground—then higher than now. Where the Fort or Rath of Alpin stood it is almost idle to conjecture. Unless the cairns of stones uncovered in the foundations of St. Leonard's Manse give some indication, none other has yet been found. And yet there seems no more likely or more defensive position on the little demesne of Rathelpie than just there. The steep bank or brae on the south and south-west would defend these sides, there being no lade or “ lade braes walk ” then to make easy footing ; the entrenchment would defend the other sides and command the western road ; and for the rest,

the Arab says, “ My sword is my fortification,” and so probably thought Alpin. It would only be a circular earthwork faced with “ dry stones,” and these cairns may have been the remains of a much greater quantity, long ago, carried away to build stone houses and dykes in Argyle after the rude wattlings of the earlier time had given place to more substantial structures.

Croft-an-righ,—the King’s Croft,—was probably his “ Mains ” or Home Farm as distinguished from the common pasture and run-rig husbandry of his vassals and tenants. That the south side of the now Argyle held a Pictish or pre-Celtic population before the arrival of Alpin and his Scots is likely, and that they were the people who called the newcomers the “ Gall.” It is also probable that the place of their habitation had a name of its own, now lost. Pictish was not a written language. Some distinction seems to have existed down to historic times, for the modern titles say that the ancient writs of at least one South side property describe it as — “ All and whole those three yards of land lying upon the south side of Northgyle near the city of St. Andrews,” and one of the boundaries is “ Northgile on the north,” as if there had been something like a Southgyle as well, and two divisions of what is now one village. The “ natives ” may be regarded as a hybrid race descended from the Scotie followers of Alpin and of the perhaps more ancient Picts with whom the Scots doubtless intermarried—if any such descendants now exist.

In the suburb of Rathelpie eminent members and benefactors of the University are being farther “ had in remembrance ” by having roads and gardens named after them, but apparently no one thinks of the piety and charity of the Countess Ada who made this

posthumous beatification possible. The benefactions of mediaeval churchmen were generally appropriations of other people's possessions (parish livings for example) ; and if Prior Hepburn had not had the Countess Ada's gift to the old Hospital and that of the Sainted David to appropriate, it is safe to conclude that his College of St. Leonard had never been.

Whatever relation “ Argyle ” may have borne to the neighbouring city of St. Andrews it had at least an individuality of its own, and has borne its distinctive name quite as long. It, however, never had a Church or a “ Rathhaus.” There have been no “ howkings ” in Argyle ; the guide books know it not ; and it is to be feared that it must be content with being called “ a suburb of St. Andrews outside the City Gates,” or “ a district of St. Andrews west of South Street.” The little township owed its origin to, and grew up under, the protecting shadow of a petty King's Rath, and the neighbouring township of Kilrymont had the maternal care of the Church, with a Bishop at its head from the beginning of the tenth century. The Church has prevailed over the Rath.

Of references to the spelling of the name within the last five hundred years the following may be noted. About 2nd May, 1479, Sir James Braid (clerical Sir) became the third chaplain of St. Fergus Altar in the Parish Church. He appears to have been a man of some means, and possessed of a liberal soul, for he endowed the Altar with 24 shillings from a tenement in Argail, which tenement he enlarged and improved, and which was called “ Dunsie's Haw.” This property seems from the description of the boundaries to be that immediately on the west of the former “ Brewery ” and must bear

some sort of relation to “ Dunsie’s Dubs ” aforesaid. It is to be feared that the origin of this name is now lost. It is more likely to be a commemorative personal, rather than a topographical one. Certain Dunces appear in the Kirk Session Register about a century later *circa* 1580. Some forbears of theirs may have been the “ Dunce ” or “ Dunsie ” who originated the nominative of the name. “ Dubs ” are just small pools of rain water. In 1512 Prior Hepburn conveyed to his new College of St. Leonard—*inter alia* “ the annual rents of the tenements of Argale built on the lands of Rathelpy.” In 1539 there is a blacksmith, “ David Gray in Argayll,” and in 1569 there is another blacksmith “ John Sayth in Argail,” and of seventeen entries in the Kirk Session Register from 1559 to 1600 there are nine different spellings, two being Northgaill and one North Gale. In another record as late as 1781 there is a land labourer named Kirk in Norgile ; Ergaill is, however, rather the more frequent form. Place names are necessarily much older than personal names, but even in this respect Argyle has a good record, the Braids and Seaths of the twentieth century had their namesakes in the fifteenth and sixteenth.

The eastmost house on the north side removed in 1896 had on its eastern gable a panel stone bearing a shield and arms very much worn and defaced. The stone was placed (where it now is) for preservation in one of the stone pillars of the Gibson Hospital railing and the arms have been since identified as those of Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, who became Archdeacon of St. Andrews in 1506. Whether the Archdeacon owned this particular house or an older one that stood on its site, cannot now be known as the titles do

not go beyond the nineteenth century, but it may be that he owned some property here or hereabout, and probably lived in it. Dunbar became Bishop of Aberdeen, and one of its greatest benefactors in 1518, and visitors to that city find the Dunbar Arms nearly as plentifully displayed there as are those of the Hepburns in St. Andrews.

In and about 1697 when there was a movement for transferring the University to Perth, one of the reasons given by a Professor of the time was that “ This place (St. Andrews) being now only a village where most part farmers dwell the whole streets are filled with dunghills which are exceedingly noisome and ready to pollute the air,” etc., etc. This disparagement was probably more applicable to Argyle till well into last century, but now—“ Look here, upon this picture and on this ”—the farmers are disappearing, the angularities and inconvenient projections are being rubbed off, and in their place, a steam-rolled road, broad-paved side walks and trees ! With these improvements much of the old world is doubtless also passing away, but Medical Officers of Health, Sanitary Inspectors, and Public Health Committees, as such, have small sympathy with the merely picturesque. The “ clartier the cosier ” is no longer a popular sentiment and Argyle is now—what Carlyle said of our Ruins—in a good and clean condition. May its shadow never grow less.

CHAPTER VII.

“ST. REGULUS CHURCH” AND TOWER.

If it be, as elsewhere suggested, that the origin of the Ancient City was the gradual segregation at the outfall of the Kinnessburn of a primeval community in search of the wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of hunger, then St. Andrews, like some other famous cities, began at the east end. The original location was the mouth of a burn which afforded shelter for the “dug-outs,” or the hide-covered coracles, of these primitive fishermen and hunters and the means of “drawing them up” in times of storm and flood. By the burnside and on the brae would be built the round wattle and thatched huts which sheltered their women folk and children and formed their homes—the best that men then knew.

The disintegrating and levelling forces of nature, and the destruction done by men in their efforts to make a harbour with stores and granaries, may have reduced the extent and changed the configuration of the ground, and perhaps so altered the course of the burn as to make it difficult now to realise the immediate environment of those early dwellers by the eastern sea.

When after long years the Christian missionary came perhaps the natural site on which to build his Church was at the head of the heugh above the little town, which thereby became the *Kirkheugh* and holy ground. Heugh having become obsolete in current speech, it is now the *Kirkhill*. Of the three companions of St. Columba—St. Brennen, St. Comgall, and St. Cainnech—the latter, according to Skene, established himself in a “desert”

at Kilrymont, “ not far from where the river Eden pours its waters into the German Ocean at a place called *Rig-monadh*, or the Royal Mount, which afterwards became celebrated as the site on which the Church of St. Andrews was founded, and as giving to the Church its Gaelic name of Kilrymont ” (vol. II. 137).

St. Cainnech, who is said to have been of Pictish descent, and, therefore, the more effective as a missionary to the Pictish people, is believed to have founded a Monastery at Kilrymont, doubtless for the work of evangelising. In so far as these missionary brethren were in ecclesiastical obedience to any central authority, it was to Iona ; but early in the eighth century there was created a schism in the family of Iona by certain new views—*inter alia* as to the proper season for the observance of Easter. The reforming party, headed by Nechtan, a petty Pictish King, wished to introduce the Roman usage, and observe the feast (as it is now observed) on the first Sunday after the first full moon occurring after the 21st March. Almost as a matter of course, there was a conservative party who refused “ to move with the times,” with the result, to at least St. Andrews and Abernethy, that they were driven out “ across Drumalbin ” in the year 717—sent home to Iona in fact.,

A new set of Clerics succeeded, who in time came to be called Culdees—Irish, *Ceile De* ; Latin, *Keledeus*, hence the modern name Culdees. These Culdees may have been originally hermits, or solitaries—men who dwelt apart, but who gradually came under canonical obedience, and so became synonymous with secular Canons. In St. Andrews they continued to be called Culdees long after their Order had disappeared elsewhere in Scotland.

Reconstituted as the Collegiate Church of St. Mary on the Rock, they continued on the Kirkhill till the Reformation. The first Church was probably of an equally primitive type with the huts of the people—round and built of timber and turf in the “ Gallic manner,” and there may be something in the tradition that it was first built on the Lady Craig when that was probably firm ground. That in time would be found ill fitted to withstand the winds and rains from off the North Sea, but it was a rocky headland, and stones were present and plentiful. The instinct to put these together and build would assert itself, and the stone Church was naturally reared on the level ground at the head of the heugh. It was evidently a single chamber of small dimensions, about 26 feet by 20 feet, and probably had an apse or a chancel, destroyed when the eastern extension was built for the Collegiate Church in the thirteenth century. It has been remarked that this eastern extension or choir is conspicuously different in its orientation from the more ancient Church or nave ; but *both* diverge from the true orient by many degrees. Whether the stone Church was built by the old Columban clergy or by the later Culdees, cannot be known—by the latter probably.

It will be readily understood that such a small Church was not for gathering in the people or for worship as we understand these things : it was rather a kind of “ Holy of Holies,” wherein the Divine mysteries were celebrated by the clergy to the entire exclusion of the laity. In later times it was urged against the Culdee clergy as a reproach and as evidence of their degeneracy that they “ were wont to say their office after their own fashion in a corner of a Church which was *very small*.”

The evangelising would be in gatherings out of doors, just as the secular assemblies of the people were convened on the “ Laws ” and “ Motehills ” of the country, and just as much effective preaching is done in our own day. In the endeavour to trace the beginnings of things ecclesiastical in St. Andrews, it is necessary to ignore the wholly fictitious legend of the *Greek* Regulus with his ten holy men and three holy virgins bringing the relics of the Apostle Andrew from Patras in Achaia. Certain relics apparently did come, but not in that way, nor from Achaia. They are said to have come in 761—probably from Hexham ; but by whom conveyed is not known. Bishop Acca of that city was a diligent collector of the relics of St. Andrew and a venerator of that Holy Apostle. Though it is said that by reason of some trouble in Northumbria, he was driven from his See, and that (at Hexham) it was believed that he had gone to the Nation of the Picts, there is no evidence that he ever was in St. Andrews, or (as has been alleged) founded a Bishopric here. All that can be said is that his flight from his See and the legend of the appearance of the relics here synchronise in point of time, but authentic history knows of no Bishop before Kellach. If the relics came in 761, they would be received in the church on the Kirkheugh. One hundred and fifty years later, viz., in 908, we have the first notice of that event which changed the fortunes of St. Andrews, and all its future history : it had become an ecclesiastical metropolis.

Though the history of the whole period is obscure, we know that great political changes had come about. The Western, or Dalriadic Scots, had for ages been pressing eastwards upon the Southern Picts, and gradually gaining ascendancy till Kenneth M'Alpin of the Scotie race in

some way overcame the Picts, effected the union of the two races, and established his own dynasty on the Throne. The King who elevated St. Andrews to the first place in the Scottish Church was his grandson, Constantin, and the Primate was Kellach. Constantin's great-grandfather was that Alpin who built his Fort or Rath at Rathelpie, and established his Court there—probably where the Manse of St. Leonard's parish now stands.

As the law of succession then stood—excluding the sons of previous Kings and deriving the successor through the females—it was sometimes the elder branch of Kenneth M'Alpin's dynasty and sometimes the younger that furnished the King, and the capital usually was where the King had his lands and his tribal following. The elder branch stood mainly by Angus and the Mearns, and the younger by Fife, with probably St. Andrews as its chief seat. It was under this law that Constantin succeeded, not following his father Aedh, but the two intervening Kings, Girig and Donald, of the other branch. It is perhaps not straining probabilities too far to assume that Constantin, himself of the Scotie race, and with his tribe settled round the Rath of Alpin, desired when he became King to have the head of the Church there also. Accordingly he brought his one Bishop from Abernethy (an old centre of the Picts) and installed him in St. Andrews, where he became, and continued to be, Bishop of Alban or of the Scots (*Episcopus Scotorum*). The ecclesiastical Capital from this time became permanent in St. Andrews but the Civil Capital continued its old migratory course from place to place for hundreds of years.

Kellach, the Bishop, would begin his ministry in St.

Andrews in the Church on the Kirkheugh. How long did he continue there, and did he, with the King, proceed to found a Cathedral for the new Diocese of Alban, if not, who amongst his successors founded and built the singular Church we call “ St. Regulus? ” These and similar questions have elicited a wide variety of answers. Dr. Joseph Robertson, the foremost antiquary of his day, in 1849 held with confidence, and expressed with emphasis, the opinion that it was the work of the Anglican Bishop Robert, and its date 1127-44. That seemed so final and so satisfying at the time that it has dominated artistic and architectural opinion almost ever since ; but there are some who differ and refuse to accept that view.

That Bishop Robert was not the founder seems clear. The original fabric consisted of a western tower, a Church with its entrance through the tower, and a chancel. The fabric was certainly enlarged by the building of an addition westward of the tower. The evidence for that is—(a) its roof mark, or raglet, on the western side of the tower in its natural place ; (b) the quasi-buttresses to the two western corners are the return walls of this addition, and not buttresses built with the fabric in the ordinary and natural way. (This from the structural point of view is indisputable) ; (c) the addition being built, and the tower supported by the return walls, the original western door was heightened and widened into the large archway we now see—similar in height and width to the eastern arch in the tower and to the chancel arch, (d) the new addition became the nave of the enlarged Church ; the original Church became the choir, the chancel remained as before, and the tower was now in the centre standing on

two side walls and on two lofty arches, through and under which was the usual continuity between nave and choir ; (e) the chronicler (Picts and Scots) says—“ This thing being done (his consecration at York), Robert returned to his See, and proceeded to put in practice what he had in view, viz., the enlargement of his church and its dedication to divine service ” ; (f) he then built a Monastery on the south side of the church, and brought a colony of Augustinian Canons—English, like himself—from Scone to form his chapter, and for access to the Church from the cloister he cut a large opening in the tower and a smaller one at the east end of the choir, neither of which seem to have had any finishing other than the rough scuntions we still see. In this connection it may be noticed as a fact that the cutting out of these large openings in the west and south walls of the tower had so impaired its stability that when the added nave was removed many years after, the return walls could not be removed, but had to be splayed off and shaped as buttresses, and the openings built up again in case the tower should fall. Farther, it is evident that this Church was not originally served by a monastic clergy entering from a cloister, but by secular Canons entering by the western door. All these alterations and additions were made on, and to, the original fabric by some one and for a changed Cathedral constitution, and if not Bishop Robert by whom ? *Ego* answers—By Robert. “ Impugn it whoso lists.”

Eliminating him, therefore, as an unlikely founder, who amongst his predecessors can the honour be claimed for ? His immediate predecessor was Edmure, also an Anglican ; but he seems only to have come to Scotland, surveyed the situation, and finding it impossible,

returned from whence he came. Turgot, the first of the Anglicans, was before Edmere, but he was confessedly a failure, and in his short Episcopate of eight years is not likely to have accomplished any building in St. Andrews, more especially such a building. Before Turgot there had been no Bishop for fourteen years, and things ecclesiastical were in much confusion. Going back that time, the year 1093 is reached, and the death of Fothad, the last of the native Bishops, and as he sat for thirty-four years, it follows that his Episcopate began in 1059. Ten years later—in 1069—he married Malcolm Canmore to the Saxon Princess Margaret, and apparently spent much of his after life in ecclesiological disputations with that pious and learned Lady. It is not suggested that *he* founded St. Regulus or that any of his five immediate predecessors had any share in that work.

Behind them comes the second Kellach (970-995) who has been suggested as a possible founder, and if we could believe Bower's story that he was the first who went to Rome for confirmation, there might be something in it. He in that case would have seen Roman and other buildings in that City, and on his journeys thither and back, and he might have acquired sufficient knowledge of the architect's art to enable him to direct the building of a new Church for his Diocese ; but as no other Bishop of the Celtic period is known to have made that journey, it is not likely that he did.

Three more prelates, with brief reigns, take us back to Kellach, the first Bishop in St. Andrews, who, with the King, is the most probable of all founders. By his translation from Abernethy and his settlement in St. Andrews, the necessity for a new Church for a Bishop

had arisen, and it is hardly a relevant objection to say that the art of building in Scotland in his time had not reached the excellence of design and workmanship exhibited in that unique structure. Moreover, it is not likely that he could indefinitely continue to exercise his Episcopal functions in the old Church of the Culdees, which was not his, and there was then no other in St. Andrews.

That work of this quality should be executed at that early period in Scotland is an admitted difficulty ; but that is not obviated by assigning some not more probable date within the Celtic period. That it was not built subsequent to that period, may be taken as certain. No argument can succeed against King Constantin and Bishop Kellach as the founders that would not be equally fatal to all successors, nor is there any such growth in the builder's art observable during the *regime* of the Celtic Bishops in St. Andrews as would warrant a later date ; moreover, for at least a third of their period the Celtic Church was a dying institution. The square tower of St. Regulus is a legitimate enough successor of the round towers of Abernethy and Brechin, just as they are of the round towers of Ireland, and these again seem survivals of the round huts and cells of a still earlier time.

All primitive peoples seem to begin with round forms of construction ; the native African of our own day cannot comprehend the white man's house with its straight walls and square gables. He argues that the sun and moon are round ; the trees are round ; he himself is round, and therefore his house is round : he knows no form in nature that is not round. The type survives till advancing civilisation in the progressive races brings more artificial, but more

scientific, forms. Square buildings succeed with their quarried and tool-dressed stones, square jointed and mortar built. It is no valid objection that there is no such building in Scotland in that age—there is not, but all new forms begin sometime and with men of original minds who may occasionally receive inspiration from outside sources. The conclusion seems justified that in this case the inspiration came from the early Churches of Northumbria.

“ Bede’s ” Church at Jarrow and St. Peter’s at Monkwearmouth are in many respects like St. Regulus, and these belong to a still earlier period. While historical knowledge concerning Constantin is meagre enough, it is known that he had a long reign of fully forty years ; that he was a man of devout spirit and an enlightened Sovereign for his time. He had much fighting up and down both on his own behalf—against invasive Danes and such-like heathen doggery—and in assisting neighbours, some of his battles being as far south as the Humber. He it was that established the Primacy of the Scottish Church in St. Andrews and who more likely than he to found and help to build a Cathedral for the Bishop ?

Bede tells us that Nechtan, King of the Picts—already alluded to—in 710 wrote to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, to send masons to build him a Church as the Romans built (with squared stones), and there are those who think that the ancient tower of Restennet, near Forfar, was built by them. It is just as credible and quite as likely that Constantin, two hundred years later, sought for masons in the same country, where the Roman influence and Roman examples still survived, to build him a Church in St. Andrews also in the Roman manner.

Apart from the masons said to have been imported from Gaul, Roman building had, besides the great Wall itself, been extensive on the north side of the Tyne valley between Newcastle and Hexham, and Corstopitum, near the modern Corbridge, was a considerable Roman town. There is no ancient building in Scotland, except perhaps Restennet, that has such affinities with this Roman building as St. Regulus. The native building then was with gathered and undressed stones built “ dry.”

Further, as there is no known quarry in Fife within the historic period that could have produced so many large and durable sandstone blocks, it is a fair inference that these stones came from the Tyne valley also, and that they were dressed and squared in the quarry for water transport to St. Andrews. The stones being thus prepared, there was little to do on their arrival but to build them in their places, which was evidently done with the best of “ Roman cement ”—ground lime and fine gravel. An interesting peculiarity is very noticeable in the height and uniformity of the courses which go without break all round the building. The first is a splayed plinth a little under 12 inches thick, then follow three courses of the abnormal height of $21\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From these all the way to the top of the Tower the plain courses, sixty-eight in number, embracing, with the chancel, perhaps ten thousand separate ashlar stones, have all been gauged off to $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches, which with the mortar beds when built, makes the ultimate height of nearly $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The cornices and bands, like the plinths, are a little under 12 inches. This strict adherence to such uniform and (to us) unusual gauges over large surfaces certainly means something, and suggests the idea that the Roman foot (11.68 inches) was the unit of

measurement, and that in fact nineteen-twentieths of these courses are one and a-half Roman feet in height.

Another peculiarity, indicating a distant quarry of origin, is equally noticeable. Contrary to all modern and even mediaeval practice the stones are very short in proportion to their height. Evidently the reason of such short cutting was that the weight of the individual stone should not exceed the load that the semi-slave labourer of the time could carry to the ship lying in the river and from the ship again to the building. The method of carrying, either on the back or behind the head, on flat staves over the shoulders—kept in position by the hands—may be seen illustrated in the sculpturing of Trajan's Column at Rome.

In one other respect the work differs greatly from the Norman which succeeded it in this country, viz., in the comparatively thin walls and their great height, excellence in quality was more depended on than great bulk of material. The Tower is about twenty feet on each side, and one hundred and nine feet six inches high. The Church is practically the same size internally as the old Culdee Church on the Kirkhill, viz., about twenty-six feet by twenty feet, hardly larger than the dining-room of a first-class villa of the present time. The chancel would appear to have been about twenty-four feet by sixteen feet. It is difficult to characterise the “ style ” by any name now current among the architects and artists, the historian is tempted to say, “ He is of age, ask him.”

Constantin after his forty years' reign did what few Kings do—he resigned the Crown in favour of Malcolm, the son of his predecessor, Donald, who under the Tanist law was entitled to succeed, and, “ entering the Church,”

became a Canon in the Cathedral he himself had helped to found, and in which he is probably buried.

Certain chroniclers say that he became Abbot of the Culdees ; but this seems to be importing into his time language which belongs to their own—hundreds of years later ; besides there is no evidence that such an office then existed, or that these Culdees were monastics. As shewing continuity of residence by this branch of the Royal House, Constantin’s son, Indulph, who became King after Malcolm, is believed to have died in St. Andrews about 962.

The evidences of there having been three roofs on the church arrests attention. The highest was probably the earliest, and if (as is probable) the outer covering was reed thatch, it was natural that the pitch should be steep, the extreme height is 25 feet 6 inches—practically the same as its width at the bottom. The next roof has been flatter, but still steep ; its height is 19 feet 6 inches. The third is flatter than either, but rather more than a right angle, and is exactly the same pitch as the roof raglet on the west face of the tower.

Only a rough approximation can be made of the area and height of the western extension or nave. Assuming the side walls to have been from four to five feet higher than those of the choir, as is suggested by the roof pitches and the ancient seal of the chapter, the internal width would be about twenty-four to twenty-six feet, but of the original length there is now no evidence whatever.

As regards the seal, it is plain that the artist had to “ cut his coat according to his cloth.” An acutely pointed oval seal gave plenty of height, but severely limited the width ; hence the fabric is out of all proportion,

the tower being too high and the Church too short. The chancel is cut off altogether, such being the exigencies of space. While, therefore, the Church on the seal probably represents the actual Church of the time, only very general conformity between sketch and subject is to be looked for. The middle roof may have been the work of Bishop Robert when the new nave was built, but the fact of the lower one being of the same pitch as the nave roof rather points to him as its author.

A new roof was put on by the thirteenth Prior, William of Lothian, betwixt 1340 and 1354, which may have been on one or other of the old lines. Bishop Robert's nave was probably by this time removed.

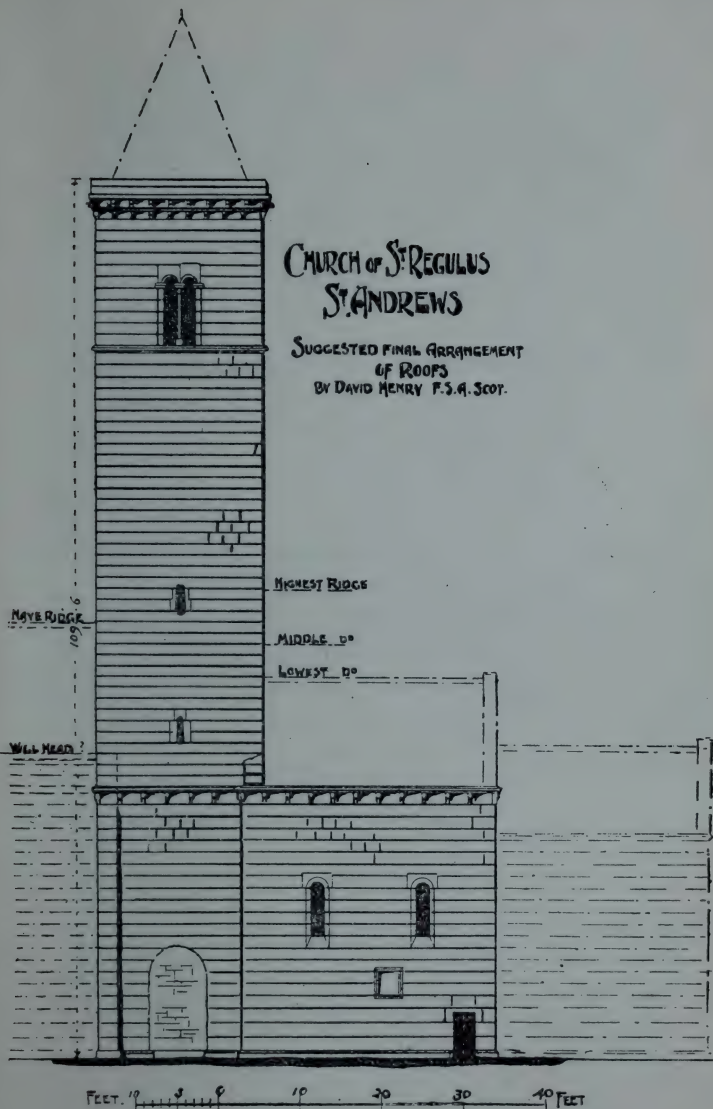
At some time after the later monastic buildings were occupied a horloge, or clock, had been put into the tower with a dial on the western face. The “ die ” or sinking is 5 feet 9 inches square, 2 inches deep, and seventy feet from the ground. A clock dial of that size and elevation would be visible from the cloister and from the monastery gardens, and no doubt it regulated the hours and the occupations of the Canons, within doors and without.

The upper termination may have been a conical roof as on the chapter seal, but whatever it was in the early time, in the eighteenth century it had wholly disappeared ; and a writer in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1786 says that at the time of his visit “ the inside of the tower was open from top to bottom without any roof.” A flat roof was, however, put on soon afterwards, and is still maintained.

Of what may be called the higher decorative arts of moulding and carving there is very little. The moulding is, however, good, and if the capitals seem a little crude and below the quality of the other work, it is quite

CHURCH OF ST. REGULUS ST. ANDREWS

SUGGESTED FINAL ARRANGEMENT
OF ROOFS
BY DAVID HENRY F.S.A. SCOT.



possible they were intended for low relief carving, which was never done. Native art was, however, not dead, for Wynton (writing four hundred years later) tells us of Bishop Fothad, Kellach's successor, that

“ He made a tysstyre in that Qwhyлле
 Quhare in was closyd the Wangylle
 Platyd oure wyth silvyre bricht
 On the hey Awytr stand and rycht
 At the north end.”

This “ tysstyre ” or casket enclosing the Evangel was made for, and laid on the high Altar of the Cathedral Church of St. Regulus, and shows that metal working and silver plating were living arts, unless the work was done in Ireland. Queen Margaret presented, or erected, a beautiful cross in the church, which was in it in Bishop Turgot's time and seen by him, and her son, the first Alexander, made that curious gift to it when he

“ Gart than to the Awtare bryng
 His cumly sted of Araby,
 Sadelyd and brydeled costlykly.”

Of Queen Margaret it is further said that “ as the religious devotion of the people brought many from all parts to the Church of St. Andrews, she constructed dwellings on both sides of the sea, which divides Lodoneia, or Lothian from Scotia,” “ that the pilgrims might put up there and rest.” A melancholy picture of the religious condition of St. Andrews, presumably in Margaret's early time, is preserved by a writer in the Register of the Priory, who says that there were then two parties—“ A society of thirteen commonly called Keledei whose manner of life was shaped more in accordance with their own fancy and human tradition than by the precepts of the holy Fathers,” ; and

“ Moreover there were seven beneficiaries who divided among themselves the offerings of the altar ; of which seven portions the Bishop enjoyed but one and the Hospital another ; the remaining five were apportioned to other five members who performed no duty whatever either at altar or Church.”

It is perhaps not difficult to see in these two parties the Culdees of the Kirkhill and the Chapter of the Cathedral. Assuming the writer to be (as has been suggested) the English Bishop Robert so often referred to, he was describing a state of things that he imagined existed before he came to St. Andrews, and even before he was born, but he was doubtless trying to justify the suppression of the old native Church and the introduction of the reforms and the new ecclesiastical polity of the sons of St. Margaret.

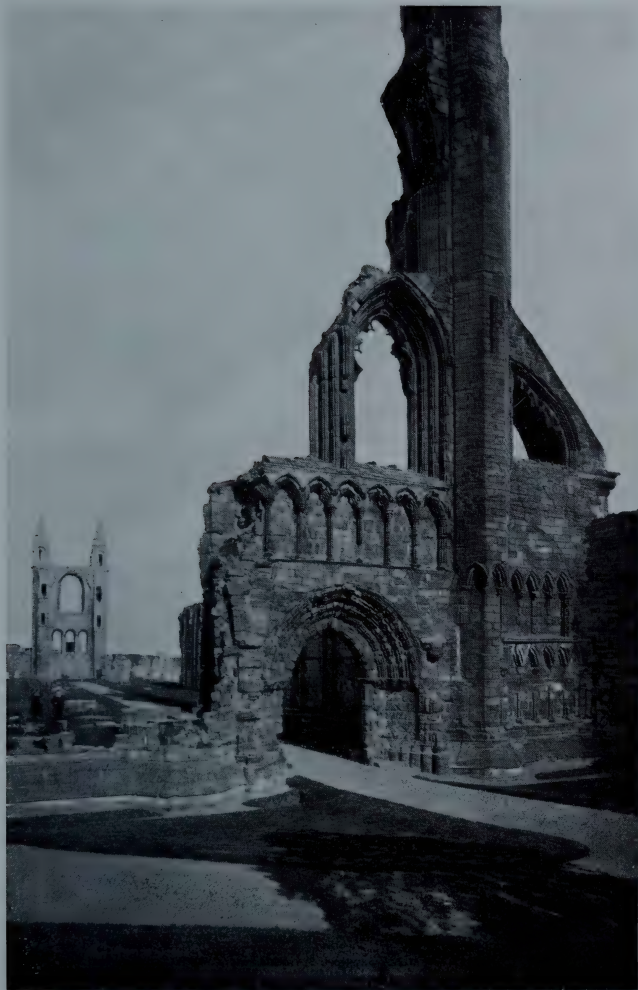
But these changes not only affected St. Andrews, they obtained over all western Europe. The old lapsarian, married clergy, with their many abuses of hereditary office and such like, had become unpopular, and Roman monachism with its new zeal and fervour was everywhere gaining public favour.

A celibate clergy living strictly conventual lives better suited the spirit of the new time, and so we come back again to Bishop Robert and his already referred to alterations both on the fabric and on the constitution of the Church of St. Regulus which continued to be the Cathedral for long after his day—till probably about 1230. Another interesting question here arises—Why was it that after ceasing to be the Cathedral it was still left standing, presumably empty and abandoned ; and why was it not taken down for its materials as was usually done elsewhere ? May not the answer be that it was not really

abandoned, but that the second party, the Culdee Seculars, who, having adhered to their places in the Chapter notwithstanding the presence of the Canons Regular brought in to displace them, were left in possession when the latter were transferred to the New Cathedral and to their new monastic buildings? No example is known of such preservation of buildings after desertion in that age.

Our ecclesiastical historians hardly seem to have realised the situation in St. Andrews, the “ two parties ” must have each had, besides a name, a local habitation, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the first party, the “ society of thirteen,” were the Culdees, on the Kirkhill, and that the “ seven beneficiaries ” were the Cathedral Chapter over whom there had been no Bishop for many years, and who were probably guilty of the numberless vices of idleness.

We know that they held together, and refused to be coerced into giving up their rights, and continued, against much obstruction, to attempt their exercise for more than a century after the new Cathedral had come into use, of course, always recruiting their ranks, though forbidden. Presumably they could not enter the cloister, not being monastics, nor probably the new chapter house therein for the same reason. It may be, therefore, that they were left in possession of the Old Church on which they had claims, and that the old monastic buildings and the added nave were removed and their materials used in other buildings, and also that the western door was again restored in the tower as shown by the remains of the thirteenth century moulded work on the side jambs still visible—the remainder of the great archway being built up.



Cathedral, West Front.
East Gable in the distance.

We hear no more of these particular “ Culdees ” after 1332, and they probably died out in the course of the century, after occupying an untenable position as long as they could. William of Lothian’s new roof to the church in the fourteenth century had been put on for their benefit.

Though long abandoned as a shrine of Christian worship and notwithstanding its thousand years of warfare with the elements, the grand old Tower still presents a brave front to the world, even although the great Dr. Johnson, on his visit to St. Andrews in 1773, was unable to see it.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATHEDRAL.

The origin of St. Andrews is said to be lost in the mists of antiquity, and it has even been elevated into the region of the miraculous. The miracle is, however, nothing more than the ever operative law of hunger. Men in remote times did what men do now—they congregated in localities where that hunger was most likely to be appeased. The means of living were at bottom just what they are yet ; there was the sea to fish in, the land on which wild creatures could be hunted and on which corn and fruit could be grown. The mouths of small rivers and streams were obviously the most favourable for getting that food without which man cannot live. When the “ Water of Kinness ” was—relative to the land—higher than it is now, prehistoric man doubtless appeared on the scene and a settlement gradually formed itself by the side of burnmouth haven—the ancestor of the present harbour. After a long interval of unmemorable time and the Advent of the Son of Man there would come the Christian Missionary (Irish for certain) in quest of work for his Master, and finding an already gathered population needing conversion to the faith of Christ would find his work there. This not wholly imaginary preacher of the word of life began the ecclesiastical history of St. Andrews, and probably just preceded the little colony of missionary priests—thought to have been founded by St. Cainnech of Aghaboe near the end of the sixth century. Early in the eighth century

these were expelled, and the Culdees came instead. In their early time some one (perhaps Acca of Hexham) brought certain relics and the Veneration of St. Andrew to Kilrymont, and that Apostle soon became the Patron Saint of Scotland. Then in the beginning of the tenth century there came Bishop Kellach, followed by the building of a new Church and its dedication to St. Andrew. Again many intervening years pass, till just after the middle of the twelfth century there came Bishop Arnold and another new Church, the subject of the present writing. It seems all very ancient, but quite natural, and as Carlyle would say, "in accordance with the laws of this universe." In the Nile valley it would be but as yesterday.

A Cathedral is not only a building, it is also an institution. As a building it is natural to ask—What it was, how it got its name, and what called it into being? Cathedral is an adjective, not a substantive, and *Cathedral Church* is the more correct designation. In the "middle ages" there were *Cathedral Churches*, *Collegiate Churches*, *Parochial Churches*, and in St. Andrews, *Friars' Churches*; but "Church" has been gradually dropped, and now "Cathedral" has taken rank as a substantive. While Cathedral Churches all conformed to one general plan, there was much variety of detail, and St. Andrews may be taken as an example of a highly developed type. It comprehended all the usual component parts of nave, transepts, choir (all with side aisles) and Lady chapel in their most perfect form. As to variety in detail—to cite a few of the better known examples—Glasgow has a nave and choir with side aisles, but no transepts and no Lady Chapel. It has, however, what no other has, one of the finest crypts

in existence. In Brechin, Dunblane, and Dunkeld there are side aisles to the naves, but no transepts, and no choir aisles. Aberdeen has nave aisles, has *had* short transepts, and probably an aisleless choir. Elgin, loveliest of Scottish Cathedrals, had *double* aisles to the nave, single aisles to the choir, and short transepts without aisles, and so on *ad infinitum*.

A Cathedral is a Church in which is the *Cathedra*, Bishopstool, or official seat of the Bishop, the presence of which constitutes a Cathedral and nothing else does. Good Protestants in Presbyterian Scotland have been heard to say, "oor Kirk is like a Cathedral," or it is built "in the Cathedral style," ; there is essentially no Cathedral style. Where the Bishopstool is the Cathedral is, although the building were otherwise a barn.

When Kellach, the translated Bishop, fixed his official seat in St. Andrews it would be in the Church of the Culdees which would *ipso facto* become his Cathedral, the Culdee brethren becoming his chapter—to use a phrase of a later time. On being settled and realising the need of a proper Church for his Diocese of Alban he doubtless, in conjunction with the King, planned and set about the building of a new Church which on being completed and dedicated became the second Cathedral in St. Andrews. Kellach's succession lasted till the death of Fothad in 1093—the last native Bishop for a hundred and seventy-eight years. In 1124, shortly before his death, the King, Alexander I., called to his aid Robert, Prior of the English Canons, whom nine years before he had brought from Yorkshire and settled at Scone and had him elected Bishop. Robert was an energetic churchman, and there was soon changes in St. Andrews. It is almost certain that amongst his other activities he formed the Parish

as he had formed the Burgh, and that he built the first Parish Church—a little to the north of the Cathedral—and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity as his old monastery of Scone had also been.

After a long episcopate of almost thirty-six years, Robert died in 1159, and Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, succeeded as Bishop. He was filled with the loftier ideas of the new time—brought in by the Normans—with regard to Church building ; and, doubtless realising the impossibility of further enlarging St. Regulus, he planned and began a new Church on a new site, really the *third* Cathedral in St. Andrews.

An architectural exposition to be intelligible must be given on the spot, and a minute memoir crowded with names and dates is hardly interesting to the general reader. Some general, if not technical, description is however necessary. The shape of Christian Churches—partly evolved from pre-existing conditions—was a gradual development of very early forms both of building and of church life and discipline, and there were certain rudimentary regulations as to essentials laid down in very early times. One such regulation said, “let the building be long with its head to the East, with its vestries on both sides at the East end, and so it will be like a ship.” This ship idea continued prominent, and in an early Father we find this, “For the whole business of the church is like unto a great ship heaving through a violent storm with men who are of many places.” “Let therefore the passengers remain quiet, sitting in their places lest by disorder they occasion rolling and careening.” Farther, from the ship similitude we have the name Nave, *Navis*, the western division of the body of the Church. Beyond the nave, eastward, was the

choir—literally “the place of the singers”—and beyond that, in St. Andrews, the Lady Chapel. Between the nave and the choir were the transepts—the “Cross Kirk”—or right and left projections which gave the Church its cruciform shape. The nave was the place of preaching if there was any. The choir was the place of the clergy for the celebration of that continuous divine worship proper to a Cathedral. “By Him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God *continually*”—Heb. xiii. 15. The transepts, in addition to making a cruciform plan, provided “Chapels” for altars, which were dedicated to various Saints and Martyrs. The Lady chapel was dedicated to the adoration of the Blessed Virgin, commonly called “Our Lady.” There were probably two more of these so-called chapels at the ends of the choir aisles. Arnold and his architect, probably an Englishman or Anglo-Norman, having a new and level site and untrammelled by the limitations of an existing building, prepared a ground plan of fine proportions having all the component parts above indicated in almost perfect form and gradation. Though inferior in point of length to the greater English Cathedrals none has a more symmetrical plan. Building began as usual at the east end, and we are told by Wyntoun that—

“The Kyng than of our Kynryke,
Malcolme, at that fundatyowne
Was present in his own persone.”

From which it may be inferred that there was some ceremonial on the occasion though we know not what. The great Cathedral of Salisbury was founded sixty years later than St. Andrews and finished sixty years earlier, and of the ceremonial there we learn that the

Bishop (Poore) laid the foundation, and that he laid the first stone for the reigning Pope (Honorius III.), the second for the Archbishop of Canterbury (Langton), the third for himself, and that the Earl of Salisbury laid the fourth, and his wife, Countess Ela, laid the fifth. When the nobles returned from Wales with the King (Henry III.), many of them visited Salisbury "and each laid his stone, binding himself to some special contribution for a period of seven years." *That Cathedral* (474 feet) was founded, built and consecrated in thirty-eight years, while St. Andrews (414 feet) dragged its slow length along for more than a hundred and fifty—doubtless the treasury was often empty.

Arnold did not live quite two years, and his contribution to the great enterprise of the new Church must have been small ; but his successor Richard (1163-78) zealously carried out the work. We find him (in his English way) issuing letters to the *Aldermen* and burgesses forbidding them to seduce or take away any of his builders, hewers, quarriers, or labourers without leave of the Canon in charge of the work. These, builders and hewers at any rate, were probably English or other foreigners, for he orders that they are to have the same privileges of market for food or raiment as the burgesses, but if they have a house or land in the burgh they are to pay the customary dues.

After Richard's death there was a battle royal between the King (William the Lion) and the Pope, as to who should nominate his successor. This lasted ten years, and there being two rival Bishops there was probably not much building. The next Bishop, Roger-de-Beaumont, and first cousin to the King, is said to have founded the Castle ; but we hear nothing of any contribution to the

Cathedral though he probably made some. He died in 1202, and was succeeded by William Malvoisine, an "energetic Norman" who occupied the See for the long period of thirty-six years. By his time the Church had been a-building for more than forty years, and apparently no part was yet finished. How much each Bishop contributed since the beginning cannot now be estimated, but it is evidently to Malvoisine that we owe the completion of the choir, transepts, and a large part of the nave including probably the great Tower over the crossing. He was a good financier, and recovered for his See alienated and carelessly lost rents; and the chronicler says that "he much advanced the fabric of the Church, adding more to it than all his predecessors"—perhaps more than he has hitherto been given credit for. The style was his native Norman which was adhered to all through, though the Early Pointed was making much progress elsewhere. The original over-wall length would be about 414 feet and the total over-wall area about 3964 square yards, or well over three-fourths of an acre; of that he must have completed a good deal more than two-thirds. Probably some temporary wall was built across and the completed part consecrated for divine service and the Cathedral clergy transferred from St. Regulus to the new Church. There is no record of this transaction, but the dedication would be to St. Andrew, and that is probably Bishop Malvoisine's Consecration Cross yet to be seen on the outside of the east gable. He died on 9th July, 1238, at the Boarhills Palace of Inchmurtach, and was buried in the *New Church*. "Andro of Wyntoun" says that

"In the New Kyrk hys body lyis
Hys spyryt in till Paradys."

Peace to his ashes, he was a great man and did a great work in his day, and he left a monument of his wisdom and sense in that when St. Regulus came to be abandoned as the Cathedral he did not pull it down for the materials as was usually done elsewhere—though one rather wonders why. However, we have thereby a unique situation in St. Andrews—the remains of *three* Cathedrals adjacent to each other, and one of the finest examples of early architecture in the British Islands. Probably not very much was added till William Wishart—the first Bishop since Fothad, with a distinctively Scottish name—commenced again in 1271, and completed the fabric to the west end. Wyntoun (himself a Canon) says that he began at the third pillar from the chancel door, and so built westwards to and including that “West gawill alsua.” Which is doubtless true as regards the arcades and the clerestory, but the side walls were certainly built before his time—probably by Malvoisine—for the south one (all that is now left) is the same throughout, and the six pointed windows often adduced as evidence of his work and the change of style are all evident insertions into an already built wall, six round headed windows being thereby displaced. It is demonstrably certain that the Cathedral had a nave of fourteen bays—equal to that of Norwich, the longest nave in England—and that the original design of the late Norman was adhered to all through, including the west front. What happened to this front can only be conjectured. Bower says it was blown down by a tempest of wind and that it was rebuilt by Bishop Wishart “in a stately manner.” What that exactly means is not very clear, but whatever the explanation, a new west front was certainly built, probably by Wishart, and that it was built where the

remaining part now is, thus cutting off two bays and shortening the Cathedral by about thirty-three feet. That something like this happened has long been a cherished opinion with some experts, but curiously enough it is only within the last few days (August 1910) that the matter has become certain by the uncovering of two responds or triple vaulting shafts on the south and north aisle walls. These taken with a fragment of another respond outside of the front show that these walls had gone at least two bays farther westwards than they do now. The responds were covered by the masonry of Bishop Wishart's "new" front. The south one was uncovered by accident during the present repairing and repointing, and this having suggested a search for the corresponding one in the north, it too was found where it was thought it would be. There had evidently been an intention to reconstruct the cut off bays as a Western or "Galilee" Porch (as at Durham) and considerable progress had been made with the work, but the evidence at present available perhaps hardly warrants the conclusion that it was ever finished, although Prior James Haddenton (1418-43) is said to have "roofed the porch." The wall fenestration right and left of the great door and the wall ribs above have apparently all been inserted in this connection. Evidences of other extensive alterations exist higher up; for instance, the fallen tower on the north carried a stair from the ground upwards to a point above the top of the great door, from there a passage in the thickness of the wall crossed to the south tower, and a similar stair leading still higher up. For some reason, now unknown, other than change of taste, all the gable between the turrets and from the floor of the passage upwards had been taken out and

rebuilt. It is possible that Bishop Wishart's "west gavill," following the Norman manner, had *three* storeys of windows, and that these were taken out and *two* storeys of larger windows inserted, as indicated by the present remains—the passage, for structural reasons, disappearing in the process. From the number of moulded stones used as ordinary walling in the rebuilding it has been thought that the passage may have had an open arcade on the Church side as at Arbroath, which is at least possible. All this new building or rebuilding belongs to a period later than Wishart's time by probably a century. It may easily be supposed that during the four hundred years that elapsed from the founding till after the Reformation many changes were made, dictated some by necessity and some by the ever changing tastes and ideas of men. Bishop Fraser succeeded Wishart, but his lot was cast in troublous times. The death of Alexander III. at Kinghorn led to a fiercely disputed succession and to the armed invasion of Scotland by Edward I. in prosecution of his claims as Lord Paramount. Fraser died in France, and was buried in Paris, his heart only being brought (in a coffer) to St. Andrews and entombed in a recess in the north wall of the choir. Nothing connected with the fabric is recorded of him. Bishop Lamberton (another Anglo-Norman) succeeded Fraser. He also lived in a distressful time, and his own walk therein was, to say the least, circuitous. He was, however, a patriot and a friend of Bruce, and we forgive him. For this, amongst other things, the Cumyn faction opposed his election and William Cumyn, Provost of the Culdees, went to Rome to appeal against it, but effected nothing. Bower accords him much praise for his many virtues and enumerates his various building

enterprises, which included the New Chapter House, but his only contribution to the Cathedral was that "He embellished the roofs of the great Church grandly with hewn and carved tablets." As there are now no roofs, it is impossible to say what these tablets were. After the battle of Bannockburn things improved for him and for Scotland, and after he had got the English swept out of his Cathedral city, and their damage repaired, he set about making preparations for the rededicating of the Great Church, which was accomplished with much pomp and ceremony on 5th July, 1318, his friend the King with many Bishops, Abbots, and Barons of the Kingdom being present. He died in 1328.

The Cathedral as an Institution was to be the model and an example to the whole Diocese. A Bishop on fixing his official seat in any Church had, or gathered round him, a body of clergy (of which he was the head) who were to be his special companions and helpers in keeping up divine worship in his Church and in spreading the Gospel in other parts of his district, for the early Bishoprics were tribal and not territorial. This was the origin of Cathedral Chapters, but the clergy of these Chapters came later to be of two kinds—Regulars and Seculars. The Regulars lived (as they do yet in Catholic countries) under a *regula* or rule—in St. Andrews it was the rule of St. Augustine—had taken the three vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and lived a common life in monasteries, ate at a common table, and slept in a common dormitory. The Seculars did not take such vows, but were bound by the general Church law of the time; they lived in "the world," each man in his own house, and were sometimes married, though the law of celibacy ultimately supervened. Thus there were

Secular Chapters and Monastic Chapters. St. Andrews, Whithorn and Iona were Monastic ; Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, Glasgow, etc., etc., were Secular.

In St. Andrews the original chapter was also Secular—the Culdee Clerics ; but some Kings and Bishops came to prefer Regulars, who enjoyed a greater reputation for holiness and strictness of life. This seems to have been Bishop Robert's preference also, for he brought a colony of Regulars from his old monastery of Scone (English like himself) to displace the Culdee Seculars. The displacing was to be a case of gradual extinction, the Culdees might become Regulars or as they died out their places and emoluments were to go to the Regulars, but they refused to be operated on in that way. They were a separate corporation with an ancient habitation and property of their own of which they could not without manifest injustice be deprived, and they held to them and to what they contended were their chapter rights, especially at the elections of the Bishops, till in 1332 they were finally shut out and contended no more. They do not appear again as Culdees in history, but as the " Collegiate Church of St. Mary on the Rock "—then a fashionable kind of religious foundation, and as such these mediaeval " Wee Frees " went their own way and the Canons went theirs till the end for both came in 1560.

The head of every independent religious house is an Abbot, but in monasteries attached to Cathedrals the Bishop is in theory the Abbot and the real head of the house is the Prior—hence our Monastery was a " Priory " not an " Abbey." The Canons soon acquired much property of their own and thereby became a separate corporation with rights and privileges which were strenuously insisted on, and as time passed and new

conditions of life emerged the Priors acquired more and more power and influence in the Cathedral, and the Bishops had less and less. Liberty and freedom from the control of Superiors was the settled policy of all corporations of the time, and it was the endeavour of all Monastics to free themselves as much as possible from the jurisdiction of the Bishops and to regard them as Visitors only. For those who care to follow the matter farther there is a plan of the Cathedral and the Monastic buildings as they existed here following this chapter. One special part which cannot be shown on a *ground* plan may be mentioned, viz., the dormitory and the scriptorium or library which were on the *upper* floor over the slype, chapter house vestibule, and the sacristy. The little stair E gave access to the Church for the Nocturnal Service about midnight, and prime in the early morning. The seven Canonical hours ("Seven times a day do I praise Thee," Ps. cxix. 15) were 1st Prime, about six, Tierce about nine, Sext about noon, Nones about three, Vespers about six, and Compline (*completorium*, the completion of the services of the day) about seven, or after supper—the Canons, of course, having to rise from bed for the Nocturnal and Prime. These offices were all recited and sung in the choir daily and nightly at these hours—each man in his own stall—a seat in the chapter and a stall in the choir was the right of each Canon or Monk who had passed his probation and had been admitted a full member of the community. This was the monastic system at its best ; but it did not and could not continue. The distinguished author of the "Monks of the West"—himself a devout admirer—mourns sadly over "That relaxation of discipline which, by a mysterious and terrible judgment of God the

religious orders have never been able to preserve themselves."

To return to the building—that may now be regarded as complete ; and the next event in its history is what Wyntoun calls " the brynnyng off the Kyrk," that took place in 1378. How it happened can only now be guessed at, but Hector Boyce's jackdaw with the burning twig may be dismissed as just as credible as most of the many other stories of that imaginative historian. The burning led to a great deal of rebuilding and repairing, during which much new lead covering (not copper *pace* Boyce) was laid on old and new wood, or what the old chronicler calls " treyne wark." The rebuilding was mainly about the eastern aisles of the transepts, the ceiling of the nave, and apparently the heightening of the central tower. If this was Wyntoun's " qwartare off that Steepil of Stane " that was then made, the added weight may account for the failure of the great piers and the consequent building up of the surrounding openings to strengthen them, the remains of which we yet see. They were then about a hundred years old. This rebuilding and repairing was at the joint expense of the Bishop, Landel, and the Prior, Stephen Pay, and lasted some seven years. The Cathedral was not only the Bishop's Church, it was the Monastic Church as well.

There is little more recorded of structural alteration or addition, and anything done from this time forward seems to have been by the Priors and not by the Bishops. For instance, James Bisset carried on the repairs caused by the fire, completing the roof of the nave and the porch, and fitting up the choir with stalls. James Haddenton (1418-43) inserted the large window we still see in the east gable, removing and partly building up the six

smaller ones. He also "paved the choir and transepts with polished stone"—perhaps tiles. The interior appearance when completed would be a Nave more or less empty, a Choir, probably enclosed, within the gates of which were the stalls of the Canons in rows facing each other and a central passage. The four Cathedral Dignities—the Archdeacon, the Precentor, the Chancellor and Treasurer would (as in Secular Cathedrals) occupy the end stalls of the higher rows. The Bishop's place in the Choir seems to have been next to the Archdeacon, the Prior probably coming next again, and all the others in the order of their admission as members of the Chapter. There was usually some space between the Stalls and the High Altar, which itself was set against a Reredos or midwall. Beyond this was the Chapel of "Our Lady" occupying the highest place of all, even higher than the Highest. When the cult of the Chantry priest came in, room was found for him and his altars in the aisles of the Nave, which were divided into Chapels. Of other furniture and furnishings there was a great deal—altar ornaments and relics of all kinds and presses to hold them, vestments also of all kinds. One Prior gave a Lenten Veil to hang between the Choir and the Altar, and Bishop Trail (of Blebo)

"Gave twa lang coddies of Welwete
That on the hey Awtare offt is sete,"

and a whole lot of other things too numerous to mention, and

"Withowtyn dowte he had dwne mare
Had God him thoyled till live langare."

The gatherings of hundreds of years would amount to a vast collection, all of which, with the service books,

choir music, registers, charters, histories, etc., etc., have long been swallowed up in the belly of night.

All that was valuable in jewels and the precious metals would be carried off or disposed of by the Canons themselves, surviving vestments and other textile fabrics were doubtless worn out in more or less unhallowed services, and such relics as had no intrinsic value, like bones of the Saints, pieces of "the true Cross," etc., would only be so much rubbish added to the general heap, but it was a pity of the books. One other person perhaps merits notice in connection with the fabric. The Poet Architect, John Morow of Melrose, caused it to be inscribed on a stone in the Church of that Abbey that he was born in Paris

" And : had : in : kepyng : al : Masoun : Werk :
Of : Santandroys : ye : hye : Kyrk : " etc.,

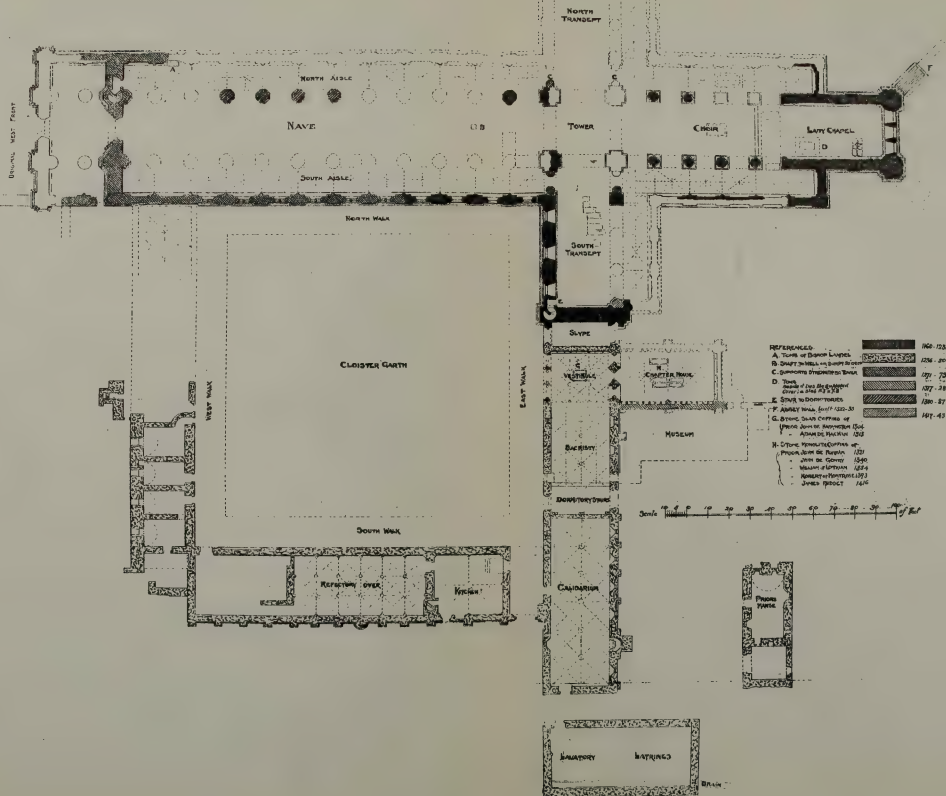
about the end of the fifteenth century, but it is not possible to say if any work of his now survives.

There are still simple souls who believe that John Knox and the "rabble" destroyed the Ancient Church in all its glory and the fair fabric of the Cathedral in a single summer's day, but that is not so—the Ancient Church died just as men die, because the life had gone out of it, and that did not go out in one day. Further, there is reason to believe that the Cathedral survived John Knox, and fell from quite natural causes. No part of such a fabric is ever at rest, the unsleeping arch and the stone-vaulted roof poised high in mid-air exert a continuous and ever active thrust on their points of support, and if these in any degree fail the result is widespread disaster, and we know that such failure happened in St. Andrews. The taking down of an old building is a difficult and often a dangerous undertaking, and if a St. Andrews "rabble"

had attempted the pulling down of the Cathedral on that summer's day (June 15, 1559), Samson's pulling down of the Temple of Dagon on the heads of the Philistine lords would have been a mild feat in comparison. It is evident that the north wall of the nave had been long insecure, and—as the foundations still show—buttresses had been built against it for support. Its fall would weaken the north half of the west front, already weak by reason of the round stair in the heart of the tower, which thinned the walls to a mere handbreadth. Incidentally it may be noted that these stairs and passages in the walls were constructed for no more romantic purpose than to afford to the plumber and glazier the means of access to the roofs and clerestory windows for upkeep and repairs. The said plumber and glazier was the same person in those times—as he is in England yet—and one of the craft named Gray, “formerly glazier and plumber in this holy Temple,” was thought worthy of being buried at the entrance to the south transept under a gravestone now much broken and defaced, but on which, in a corner, may still be seen the lion rampant of the Grays. A vast building requires great upkeep and constant repair, which the Cathedral—latterly at least—did not get. The lead was doubtless too valuable to be left long on the roof of an empty and abandoned church, and the rest was easy. “The rain descended and the floods came (and the frosts) and the winds blew and beat upon that house and it fell, and great was the fall of it.” It was not a writing age, and no diarist or descriptive letter writer has recorded for us any of the attendant phenomena—whether it fell all of a heap or bit by bit. Faint echoes of falling towers are borne to us in Martine's pages. He says that “The

ST ANDREWS CATHEDRAL

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last steeple, turret, or pinnacle, belonging to or upon the Church, stood upon the south gavell of the Croce Church ; but it is quite defaced, having fallen years ago," and again referring to the "two little neat steeples" on "the west gavell," "one of these fell about years agoe, immediately after the people, coming from a burial, had passed by under it, but without any skaith or hurt to any persone in any kind," which, as Oliver Cromwell might have said, was "a crowning mercy." Apparently these falls were only a tradition even in his time (1683), as he ventures no dates, even approximately. Ruins are easily carried away, and every mason, with a house or dyke to build, would help himself till only a mound of rubbish was left ; that was cleared away about 1826, and things left pretty much as they are now. "But," says the disappointed reader, "where were the Monks' cells ? " The judicious historian answers—There were no monks' cells in St. Andrews or monks either. The Cathedral clergy were Canons—men in Orders—as were all Augustinians ; Monks took the three monastic vows, but might be, and often were laymen. They were mainly Benedictines, and their Fifeshire houses were Dunfermline, Balmerino, and Lindores. The fundamental idea of mediaeval Monachism was life in common—eating, sleeping, praying, singing, and working all together and always together. There were, doubtless, "cells" for ill-doers, as there are yet, but not otherwise to live in. The hermits and solitaries who dwelt in caves and "cells" belonged to an earlier time, and mainly to Eastern lands—Egypt, Syria, etc.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRIORY AND THE PRIORS.

Previous to the beginning of the twelfth century and the reigns of the three successive sons of St. Margaret there was only one Bishop and one Bishopric in the Scotland of the time and no religious orders after the Roman model. Glasgow was in existence, but more Cumbrian than Scottish ; and as Alexander I. founded Moray and Dunkeld, by the time David (Margaret's youngest son) came to the throne there were four.

The one Bishopric was that of Alban which was co-extensive with the territory occupied by Scotie people, and the Bishop—who had his official seat in St. Andrews—was called the Bishop of Alban, or the Bishop of the Scots (*Episcopus Scotorum*).

David, whose reign began in 1124, inherited the devout religious temperament of his mother and the reforming zeal of his two brothers and he continued the work they had begun, viz., the reformation (after the English model) of the Scottish Church, and the bringing of it under the Roman obedience. Tales are told of the decadence and corruption of that Church, but as the tellers were mostly Englishmen we need not implicitly credit all they have said. Perhaps the Scot of the time was what he is sometimes yet, a man of slow speech and of a slow tongue, who if he had got a hearing might have had something to say in his own behalf. Be that as it may, David reigned for nine and twenty eventful years until his death in 1153, and during that time he had feudalized Scotland, and by adding five to his four

Bishoprics he increased their number to nine, and, by his own efforts and the influence of his example the religious houses that were founded and colonised in his reign amounted to eleven abbeys, two nunneries, several smaller foundations, and our Priory in 1144. David has been spoken against for his liberality to the Church and his consequent impoverishment of the Crown, but probably the people of his own time did not complain.

There must have been a great increase of skilled employment in the country, and much property passed into the hands of those whose duty and interest it was to cultivate the arts of peace ; and to the common man the change was bound to be for the better. The story of James I. saying that his ancestor David was “ ane sair Sanct for the croune ” is probably only a story and nothing more, at least its authenticity is gravely questioned.

By David's time the highest ideals of Christian life and duty had found expression in celibacy and seclusion from the world, in the solitude and ordered life of the monastery men thought they had found the true path to heaven and the peace which the world cannot give. They held it no part of their duty to reform that world but set themselves apart from it in order the more surely to work out their own salvation. Christian monachism, like some other good things, came from the east, and probably had its origin in the frightful servility and corruption of Rome : men and women fled from it in horror to the Thebiad in Egypt, and in that desert inaugurated the monastic life.

The great founders of the Monastic Orders, as we know them, were St. Augustine and St. Benedict—the former born in 354 was of Hippo, then a town in North Africa,

the latter born in 480, was of Nursia, a Sabine town of Italy : from these two the Augustinians and Benedictines derive. There were other Orders well-known in the Scotland of the middle ages, but these were all, or professed to be, reforms of the older Orders. For example, David's favourite Cisterrians—represented in Fife by Balmerino—were a reform of the Benedictines as was also Lindores, which was Tyronensian. The Mendicants, founded by St. Francis and St. Dominic (represented in Market Street and South Street) belonged to a later time, were not enclosed Orders, and followed a different rule.

The priory of St. Andrews was Augustinian. The head of every independent religious house was an Abbot—Abba father. Under him were other officials, the first of whom was the Prior—the first man or chief of the executive—his duty was to rule the Monastery in the absence of the Abbot, and on such occasions to preside in the Chapter. If he governed a separate house he was still only the Prior if that house belonged to, or was dependent on, an Abbey. In Monasteries attached to Cathedrals the Bishop was in theory Abbot, and the real head and ruler was the Prior—hence Priory in St. Andrews and not Abbey.

A further definition may be useful—a monastery is a *place* and the convent is the organised body of persons who dwell there. In St. Andrews, however, this body was something more—it was the Cathedral Chapter as well. Parenthetically it may be remarked that the Bishop and his Chapter were something like the King and his Parliament, the one could do no important act without the other. The Bishop all David's reign was a certain Robert, a Yorkshire man whom Alexander I. some six years before had brought with a small band of Augustinian Canons and settled at Scone.

Alexander after two unsuccessful attempts to settle Anglican Bishops in St. Andrews, in the last year of his life called to his aid the Prior of Scone, and had him elected Bishop, and thus Robert began his Episcopate in the same year as David began his reign as King. Robert was a zealous churchman and reformer, and was apparently ill satisfied with things ecclesiastical as they then were in St. Andrews. The Cathedral Chapter was probably composed of the successors (more or less remote) of those seven *personae* we read of as existing about the end of Malcolm Canmore's reign, one of whom was the Bishop and another an institution, viz., the hospice. It is alleged of the remaining five that they were not clerics at all but laymen who had usurped, or perhaps inherited, the benefices and did no clerical duty.

Robert probably had trouble with such companions and wished to have a body of clergy on whom he could rely in carrying out his views of reformation and the tightening of the bonds of clerical order and discipline. At all events, after twenty years of preparation, and doubtless with the sympathy and concurrence of the King, he made a change, and brought from Scone a body of Canons-regular of his own Order and settled them in St. Andrews to provide a monastic chapter for his Cathedral and so displace those unclerical Seculars—who should probably be distinguished as a body from the “society of thirteen” on the Kirkhill. Then began that battle between the Seculars and the Regulars which raged in other countries and lasted in St. Andrews for nigh two hundred years—with ultimate success to the Regulars.

This was the beginning of the great Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews, the Canons of which necessarily had a

head who in the circumstances and according to the phraseology of the time was called the Prior. The first Prior—also Robert by name—is said to have been a relative of the Bishop, and the Cathedral was then, and for long after, the church we now call St. Regulus. It is not possible to say how many members went to the making up of the new chapter, but probably the number was small. When Robert came north to be settled as Prior at Scone he had five companions—making with himself a body of six ; when he came to St. Andrews the chapter—including himself but excluding the hospice—was again six. It is therefore probable that the new body did not exceed that number—in fact, the small church and choir would hardly have room for many more. What like their little monastery was we shall never know—no stone is left upon another above ground, and the practice of burial on the sites of our early buildings prevents the possibility of their foundations ever being laid bare. Whatever its extent and arrangement, it was on the south side of the then Cathedral and was the “ Priory ” of the first hundred years.

Of the early Priors we know little beyond their names—the first was that Robert already referred to who ruled the monastery till 1162. He is frequently mentioned in the register of the Priory as the recipient of numerous benefactions from the Bishop and some confirmations from Popes—especially, the Bishop conveyed to him the revenues of the Priory of Lochleven and with them the Monastic library of about sixteen books, a modest number and the first we read of in Scotland.

The second Prior was Walter, who had been Chanter in the Cathedral. He continued till 1186, when through bodily infirmity he resigned. A certain Gilbert succeeded

but only lived two years, when Walter, having recovered his health, became again Prior. He was still living in 1195, but the year of his death is not recorded: he is said to have "ruled the monastery with singular good sense." His name frequently appears in the register of the Priory in connection with its secular business—letting of its lands, etc., etc.

As this third Prior, Thomas succeeded, who had been sub-Prior. Fordun says of him that he was "a man of good conversation and an example of the whole of religion," but either he was a too strict disciplinarian, or else the brethren were lax, "for by his zeal in enforcing the rules of the Order they were stirred up against him. He, rather than countenance their errors, chose to resign his office, though many would have gladly retained him." They parted in tears and the heavy laden man retired to the monastery of Cupar Angus.

To him as fourth Prior, Simon succeeded. The chronicler says of him that he was "a man of honest life and laudable conversation," but for a man of that character he was singularly litigious. He occurs in the register as complainer or pursuer (he and his Canons) in four contested cases tried before certain ecclesiastical persons with dubious advantage to him. With the consent of the Bishop and his brethren he resigned and was removed to Lochleven in 1225.

The sixth Prior was Henry-de-Norman, who, though he appears in the register in connection with certain legitimate enough transactions, Fordun says of him "that leaving the monastery burdened with debts and expenses," he resigned in 1236. By this time many changes had come about at the Priory—at least in its external circumstances. The new Cathedral, begun seventy-seven years before, was so

far finished as to be consecrated and the Canons removed from the old Church and installed therein.

With the accession of the seventh Prior, John Whyte, the new conventual buildings adjoining the new Cathedral were begun. It is recorded of him that he built those first essentials of a monastery—a dormitory or common room to sleep in, a refectory or common room to eat in and, under the former, a chapter house or council room to meet in. He is also said to have built the great hall of the Hospitium and to have “restored and augmented the possessions of the Priory which his predecessors wasted.” That is probably a fragment of Prior Whyte’s thirteenth century hospice we still see on the right of the Pends road near “Bishop’s Hall.” The Hepburns get credit for being great builders, but as “there were great men before Agamemnon,” so John Whyte was a better builder than they. All Monastics were fond of a “gude gangin law plea,” and he too had disputes with litigious neighbours which came before the temporary tribunals of the time, with what profit to him can only be guessed. He ruled the monastery for 22 years and died in 1258.

Gilbert, the eighth Prior, probably carried on the buildings, but all the historian says of him is that he was “skilled in temporal things, but not very learned.” *Requiescat in pace.*

The fact that no modern reader ever saw a Canon, Monk, or Friar of the old faith or a mediaeval monastery invites an attempt at reconstruction—less, however, of the persons than of the buildings. The Religious of those times were men (and often women) who had taken the three monastic vows of Poverty, Obedience, and Chastity, who, like the early disciples, had all things common and

who lived together in Monasteries under some Rule—St. Augustine or St. Benedict as the case might be. The daily round of their lives was divided between the services of the Church at the seven canonical hours, and such work within the Monastery as each was qualified for or had time for. A perusal of, say, the *Sarum Missal* will probably satisfy the enquiring mind as to the number and nature of the services, and a consideration of how much goes to the running of a fair sized household—where servants are not and where there are no shops for the purchase of food and clothing—will sufficiently enlighten the curious as to the amount of domestic work required.

The buildings all followed one general plan—some Monasteries were larger than others ; some had buildings which others had not, and the richer had more sumptuous buildings than the less opulent ; but they all grouped themselves round an open square or garth of which the Church formed one side. The three essential apartments already mentioned—the dormitory, the refectory, and the chapter house occupied the same relative positions in all—for instance, the dormitory always stood end on to the transept of the Church and one storey up. In St. Andrews in a corner of the transept, and partly in the wall, is the remains of a small round stair by which the Canons descended to the Church for the night and early morning services of matins and prime and returned again to bed. The chapter house was on the east, the refectory on the south, and the lay brothers' quarters on the west. When all these buildings had been completed they were connected with each other and with the church by a wide pent-roofed passage, called the Cloister, which went round all the four sides. This was

the centre of all things in a Monastery, and in addition to its general function of passage to everywhere, much work, exercise, and even study and teaching went on there.

Each cloister, like a modern house, had its Entrance or "outer" door—in St. Andrews at the south-east corner. Premising that the buildings are no longer entirely ruined and buried as formerly—if a beginning is made at the Entrance door and the cloister traversed all round to the door again, the following are always on the right:—

(a) The parlour, calefactory or caldarium (literally the place where they (the Canons) kept themselves warm)—placed here because of the greater amount of sun warmth to be got in the winter. This fine pillared and groin vaulted parlour or hall—79 feet by 26 feet—has been beautifully restored by the late Marquess of Bute.

(b) The stairs leading to the upper floor—the common dormitory on the north, the scriptorium, or writing room, and the Prior's chamber on the south. There was perhaps no special library in early times, as there were few books, but the writing room was always an important apartment—there charters and leases were to draft and copy, registers and chronicles to be kept, thumbed and worn out service books to be replaced, and the demand for music had to be met—simple, but written large so as to be easily read.

(c) The sacristy, or treasury, for the safe keeping of the "ornaments of the Church"—the sacred vessels, jewels, and other valuables in charge of the treasurer, for this was his office. It was not he but the chancellor who was bursar or steward and had charge of the monies and the secular properties of the corporation.

(d) The Chapter house, at first a smaller apartment under the dormitory, but later a new house, was built eastward and on a larger scale, and the other reconstructed as a vestibule. From the architect's point of view these are perhaps the finest buildings of the Priory. Certain canopied seats of the Canons (of which there may have been about 40) are yet to be seen in the south wall. The internal dimensions of this *Novum Capitulum* were 46 feet by 23 feet—vaulted in two equal bays. This was the council chamber of the convent.

(e) A passage called the slype, which led from the cloister to the gardens and the cemetery of the Canons. All Monasteries had this slype, and practically in the same place—there would be much going to and fro in it, and by it the dead were carried forth to their burial. The remainder of this and all the north side was occupied by the Cathedral which had doors from the cloister (still there though walled up) in the north-east and north-west corners—sometimes called the procession doors. Turning south here, there are the remains of a range of buildings which occupied all the west side. In the arrangement of these no strict rule was observed, but they are usually allocated to the novices—in training for the cloister—and the lay brothers or those employed about the monastery who were not clerics. The sub-Prior had his lodging on this side also, as was natural. The under-storey of the northern half shows traces of an important apartment, probably a guest room of the Canons, which appears to have had two alleys with pillars between and vaulted ; the southern half consists of a series of ordinary half round arched cellars, four being fairly entire—probably fuel stores for the kitchen as they are for the Priory house yet. Above these was the “librarie house

of St. Leonard's College" of Martine's time. In lengthening this southwards about two-thirds of the Refectory gable was covered and so "defaced and put out of ken." A mysterious building of probably later, but pre-Reformation times, appears to have been built on the west of this northern half, the foundations of which are partly visible. Its door of entrance is also visible immediately outside the west front of the Cathedral. Martine says that "Upon the west side of the Church there stood a *Lycaeum*, where the famous Scotus his quodlibets were taught." Unless these are the remains of this "Lycaeum" none other are known, nor is the use of such a building otherwise apparent.

The south side of the cloister garth was all occupied by the very large refectory—80 feet by 28 feet—and by a room at its eastern end which in Martine's time "was a faire four square rowme for Copes and Albs, etc., being the common vestiarie," which it no doubt was. Under this vestry was the kitchen—at least of the earlier time—with a round service stair up to the refectory. Under the refectory and bewest the kitchen are large and finely vaulted under crofts which must have been stores for foodstuffs and for ale, which was the only drink of the time, except water. One large block of rough building was almost certainly the gauntress on which rested the casks at the proper height for drawing. Think not hardly of the Canons—there were no "tea rooms" in those times, and human thirst had to be quenched. Farther, large stores were necessary, food having to be preserved for long periods in advance, and one October brewing had probably to last till the next. Farther still, the Monasteries were the inns or caravanseries of the day, and besides the poor who were always with them, the

great ones of the land from Royalty downwards had to be entertained on the occasion of their visits and their journeys from one place to another—paying therefor just what they liked or thought they could afford.

To return to the Priors, the ninth was John Haddenton, who continued the buildings by erecting “ the great hall (*magnam cameram*) at the east part of the monastery near the cemetery.” This hall was probably the caldarium or calefactory already referred to (a) with the chambers above, one of which would be “ the Prior’s chaumber in that Abbay ” in which Bishop Lamberton died in 1328. The Prior ruled the Monastery for the long period of 40 years, but his later life fell on troublous times. The death of Alexander III. at Kinghorn in 1286, and the contest for the Crown which ensued, brought Edward I. to St. Andrews, and one of his acts of spoilation was to have the lead stripped from the roof of the refectory and carted to Stirling for the use of his engines at the siege of that Castle. Candour compels the admission however that the friends of this honest King say that he repaid his plunder, and certainly in the following year—1305—he allowed certain monies but only as “ the King’s gift and alms.” That was no consolation to the old Prior who had in the meantime died in 1304—and was buried in the Chapter House in one of those slab graves opened during the “ howkings ” in 1904. Above him an inscription bore that

“ This stone guards the body of John who was for 40 years the Superior of this house. He successfully fought the contest with zeal. God grant him to enjoy the peace of the Faithful in Heaven.”

His name appears frequently in the Register in his

capacity as an administrator of the temporal affairs of the monastery.

The tenth Prior was Adam-de-Mauchane of whom nothing more is recorded than that "he governed his Monastery for nine years amid the storms and troubles of the war." He died in 1313—the year before the victory at Bannockburn gave a new direction to the affairs of Scotland; he was buried in the Chapter house beside his predecessor, and also had the honour of having his poor remains inspected in 1904. If he got the money for the "requisitioned" lead nothing is said about it.

The eleventh Prior, John-de-Forfar, added his quota to the buildings by erecting "the chamber adjoining the cloister which Prior William of Lothian afterwards surrounded by a wall." This large chamber, about 66 feet by 28 feet, was in part at least occupied by the latrines and the washing places, and in it there may also have been another place that we hear of in Monasteries where the monthly bleedings took place, for the subduing of the flesh. At such times it is said there was a "general free conference and sanhedrim of clatter"—much gossip and criticism of superiors apparently. All these—in St. Andrews—being outside the cloister required the enclosing wall referred to.

Sanitation in a populous monastery counted for much where the community had maintained a corporate existence on the same spot for hundreds of years. In St. Andrews that was well engineered and effective—a small but deep canal of running water—now defaced and nearly destroyed—supplied many necessities as it entered the precinct, and as it left, carried off all waste and foecal matters directly into the tidal stream that now forms the harbour.

The Prior died in 1321, and was buried in the new chapter house, in one of those stone coffins now open to the sky. This Chapter house, probably the last important addition to the Priory, was built by Bishop Lamberton between Bannockburn and the re-consecration of the Cathedral in 1318.

John of Gowry was the twelfth Prior of whom it is recorded that "though of a free tongue and incautious of speech he yet ruled his monastery with great skill, prudently providing against misfortunes and when they befel him warding them off with dexterity." His later times were those following the death of King Robert Bruce and the renewal of the contest for the Crown on the part of Edward Baliol. He died in 1340, and was buried in the new chapter house in one of the aforesaid stone coffins.

The thirteenth Prior, William of Lothian, found his lot cast in more peaceful times, and, evidently a man of ambition and energy, did a great deal of renewing and repairing. It was now over a hundred years since the accession of John Whyte, the seventh Prior and the builder of the dormitory and refectory, and renewals were probably imperative, and William evidently loved building. He roofed the dormitory with what would now be called a framed and dressed roof, probably of oak, and covered it with lead. He also new roofed the four sides of the cloister and the south part of the refectory. The old roofs may have been of home-grown pine, and their natural life would be spent by this time—the new roofing on the "south part" (or southern slope) of the refectory may have been necessitated by Edward's borrowing of its lead in 1304. He caused to be made at the expense of his Monastery the curtain, or Lenten veil,

embroidered with the figures of men and animals which hung between the Choir and the Altar during that holy season. "Moreover he built the new Ustrina at great labour and expense." The word Ustrina has at least two dictionary meanings—" (1) a melting house for metals, (2) a place where dead bodies were burnt." This ustrina was neither of these but probably a house in which there was a furnace for the heating of the Cathedral.

Rules drawn for the latitude of Italy and southern France ill suited the winter rigours of our northern clime, and those vast stone churches and monastic buildings would then be very cold, and serious illnesses and even deaths occurred from this cause.* It is almost certain that this furnace house was in the angle formed by the south aisle of the choir and the eastern aisle of the contiguous transept and that the *cut* through door with the foot worn threshold in the second bay eastwards was into it. If this be so it may farther be taken as nearly certain that it was from here (as in many a modern church) that the great fire of 1378 started—for it was just here and hereabout that the greatest damage was done. The chimney—then about thirty years old—would probably be built with two sides from the ground and two on the adjoining wall heads, and some joist or rafter end had been carelessly left in too close proximity to the flame of some extra firing and the wood went alight and a general conflagration followed. The date—23rd September—would coincide with the resumption of heating for the winter. The Canons of the late fourteenth century were no more heroic than other men, or more reverent than

* In 1257 the Monks of Kelso, and later those of Lindores, were granted the privilege of wearing caps because they were "*in frigida zona regionis Scotiae.*"

modern choirs, and the footworn threshold probably indicates (besides the ordinary traffic) many a fugitive visit to the furnace house for a "warm up" on bitter mornings before or after their duties in the choir. Farther on this subject of warming, there is in the Canons' calefactory (a) large oven-like fireplace with an ingenious setting of tiles apparently for accumulating the heat and radiating it outward from the peat fires of the period which were never let out. The fact that there is no chimney to this undoubted fireplace may only mean that the "peat reek" was allowed to carry its warmth all over this great hall, and finally escape through one or more openings in the upper walls.

It may be taken as certain that the early buildings had no fireplaces—in the Rule of St. Benedict fires are not even mentioned, the Abbot being only enjoined to distinguish between cold and warm countries in the matter of clothes and shoes. But as time went on discipline became relaxed and luxuries were indulged in which the stricter life of earlier times forbade, and thus we find the seventeenth Prior providing more ustrinas and glazing windows which were probably intended to be always open.

Prior William did a great deal of other renewing and rebuilding of the monastic properties elsewhere than in St. Andrews, and he put a new roof on the old church of St. Regulus. The chronicler says that he was "of short stature, but well skilled in learning" and amongst his other good works he freed his monastery from debt, and replenished it with many necessary things, especially with a hundred volumes for the library. He died in 1354 and was buried, as before, in one of the stone coffins. He is merely called by the historian, William of Lothian, but it has been debated as to whether he was not a

Duddingstone of that county and whether these are not his arms on the east gable of the "Roundel." That they are the arms of a Prior is certain, but some argue in favour of James Haldenstone, the nineteenth Prior, who procured for himself and successors the privilege of wearing the mitre, ring and pastoral staff on certain public occasions. The description of two coats as given by the heralds is inconsistent and confusing.

The fourteenth Prior was Thomas Bisset, "a nephew of the Earl of Fife." That is of Sir Thomas Byset of Upsettlington who had married, as her third husband, Isabella, only daughter and heiress of Duncan, eleventh and, last Earl of Fife of the old Celtic line. David II. granted him a charter of the Earldom of Fife in 1362. Prior Thomas who resigned through bad health in 1363, was probably an Englishman. The chronicler says of him—"He ruled the flock committed to his care as wisely as the times would permit. The Lord was with him and directed all his ways," with much more to the same effect, but he apparently made no contribution to the buildings of the Priory.

The fifteenth Prior was Stephen Pay, contemporaneous with whom was Andrew Pay, the Provost of the City, the first we read of after Maynard the Fleming two hundred years before. The Prior bore his share of the repairing of the Cathedral after the great fire in 1378. At the death of Bishop Landel in 1385 he was elected by the Canons to the See, but going to Rome for his confirmation he was captured by the English and taken to Alnwick where he died. Nothing is said of him about any building or repairing at the Priory.

The sixteenth Prior was Robert of Montrose. "He reformed the discipline of the monastery and improved

its buildings. He also carried on the repairs of the damage done by the fire, and finished at great expense the new work in the body of the Cathedral Church as high as the roof." His reformation of discipline was his undoing, for "one night when he was alone and going up as usual from the cloister to the dormitory" a revengeful Canon named Plater mortally wounded him with a dagger which he had concealed under his habit. "He survived only three days : and bidding his brethren farewell, slept in the Lord and was buried in the new chapter house"—it is thought in the stone coffin with the cover. Vengeance overtook the murderer, for he was "thrust bound into perpetual imprisonment. There partaking scantily of the bread of grief and the water of affliction he soon died, and was buried in a dunghill." This Robert is not to be identified with a later Robert of Montrose of whom little more is known than that he gave a house and garden in South Street to the newly founded University—the said house and garden being about where the Library now is and bounded by Westburn Lane.

The seventeenth Prior was James Biset, who fills a large space in the history of the monastery—his eulogy by Bower is in the decorated style and painfully long. He was a nephew of the fourteenth Prior—hence one of that numerous and once powerful family who amongst some other good deeds founded the Priory of Beaulieu in the thirteenth century. He did a great deal for the Priory as after detailed, but his chief title to grateful remembrance in our time is that he was one of these four learned men and patriots who may be reckoned the founders of the University. The other three were the King (James I.), the Bishop (Henry Wardlaw), and the Archdeacon (Thomas Stewart). The burghers of Cupar

might remember him as the founder and builder of their old Parish Church, which, if they had preserved and not destroyed it in 1785, might at this time have been a not unsuccessful rival to the Holy Trinity at St. Andrews which was founded just five years before.

“ In carrying on the repair of the damage caused by the late fire (1378), he completed the roofing of the nave of the Cathedral and of the porch, fitted up the choir with stalls, and finished the quadrangle of the Cloister. He furnished the whole monastery with new granaries, mills, calefactories (ustrinas), piggeries, barns, and stables, and provided the two apartments of the guest hall with pillars and glass windows. He paved the exterior and interior courts of the monastery : and supplied its mensal churches as well, as all the other churches dependent upon it, with vestries, robes for the priests, and other useful ornaments and (best of all) left the monastery not only free from debt, but with a plentiful store of iron, lead, planks, timber, coal, salt, and gold, and a full concourse of brethren. He departed this life at a good old age in the Prior’s house on the morrow of the nativity of St. John the Baptist in the year 1416. He was Prior 23 years and was buried with his brethren in the new chapter house,” in the fifth and last of the stone coffins. The inscription over him bore—“ Here lies James Bissett, shining as a polished gem. In the life of the cloister he lived like a hermit.” Unless he was the builder of the Prior’s House nothing of all his works now remain. Sunday, February 4th, 1414, was doubtless one of the great days of his time when Peter de Luna’s bulls arrived and were presented to the Bishop confirming the foundation of the University. The meeting was convened in his largest hall, the refectory,

just the same length and breadth as the now University Chapel—80 feet by 28 feet. From there the assembled clergy and the convent moved in procession round the Cloister and into the Cathedral by the processional doors already mentioned, and so to the High Altar singing the *Te Deum* as they went.

His immediate predecessor met his death going up “as usual” from the cloister to the dormitory, as if the prior’s chamber were still within the cloister—he dies 23 years later in the “prior’s house” as if it had grown up in the meantime and that he was the builder. If that is so, the ruin now called the prior’s manse was built by him.

The eighteenth Prior, William-de-Camera, apparently never entered on the duties of his office at all, for, dying at Bruges in 1417, he was buried there “in St. Giles’ Church before the altar of St. Andrew.”

The nineteenth Prior, James Haldenstone, was at Rome (then was the end of the great schism), and got nomination from Martin V., which nomination was confirmed by the Canons on his return. “After ruling his monastery wisely for 24 years, he died on 18th July, 1443, and was honourably interred in the north wall of the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral Church.” His grave was probably that covered by an arch of which some parts are yet visible. He, too, did a great deal of work in the Cathedral and about the monastic buildings; he substituted the present large window in the east gable for the six smaller ones there before; he adorned the interior with carved stalls and images of the saints; thinking the nave bare and unfurnished, he beautified it with glass windows and polished—perhaps tile—pavement, he also supplied altars, images, and ornaments. He furnished

the vestry with relics and presses to hold them, and his paving scheme included the whole choir and transepts, two sides of the cloister, and the entrance or vestibule of the chapter house.

He further, "in a great measure reconstructed the handsome palace within the court of the Prior's Hospitium, the Oratory and its Hall"—probably the Novum Hospitium of which much is heard in later times as the residence of certain royal personages and finally of the post-Reformation Archbishops. Some part of it lasted into the nineteenth century. It was he who got for himself and his successors the privilege of wearing the mitre, ring, and staff on certain public occasions. "In his days, William Bonar, vicar of St. Andrews, completed the altar and the crucifix in the nave of the church, with its solid throne and splendid image; and sub-Prior William de Ballochy improved the sleeping places in the dormitory"—very likely divided them into cubicles, one for each man, as became the practice in later and laxer times.

"Finally, at the time his predecessor, William-de-Camera, was Prior, Haldenstone, who was then sub-Prior, renewed the flooring of the refectory—on account of all which may his soul and theirs enjoy everlasting rest. Amen."

His other works about farm steadings and other properties of the monastery are too numerous to mention. For a hundred years from the thirteenth Prior's time till now, repairing and renewing, and embellishing never ceased. The Canons were always at work on their buildings, always spending money, adding and restoring, and no splendour of decoration was grudged.

The Church was their idol and to possess a Church that

should surpass all others in grandeur and which could boast of some unique glory seemed worth spending their lives on.

Of William Bonar, the twentieth Prior, no building is recorded; but "he furnished and adorned the library with necessary books and expended much in aid of the poor. He supplied, at considerable expense, great and small instruments for the choir; as also the best red cap or large hood woven with gold which is used on the chief festivals." He ruled the Priory 19 years, and died in 1462, and was buried at the *Aspersariam*, where the holy water is sprinkled—probably at the eastern "procession" door from the Cloister into the Cathedral, where a stoup may yet be seen.

The twenty-first Prior was David Ramsay, who had been a Canon. Of him it is recorded that among the many things he did was to "furnish the covering of the great Altar and build the library of large square stones well polished." The Canons had now got together a collection of books. It will be remembered that they started with sixteen brought from Lochleven about the middle of the twelfth century, they got another hundred from the thirteenth Prior, about the middle of the fourteenth and about the middle of the fifteenth they got some more from the twentieth Prior, and doubtless they had increased their stock by copying and purchase. Moreover the age of printed books was already begun, and now Prior Ramsay furnished a house to hold them, but it is not possible to identify its site. He ruled the monastery seven years, and died in 1469.

Of William Carron, twenty-second Prior, all that is recorded of him is that "he was a simple and devout man, and died in the year of our Salvation, 1482."

The twenty-third Prior was John Hepburn, and the twenty-fourth that man of sin, his nephew Patrick, who was the last Canonical Prior of St. Andrews. The buildings of these two—the Pends, the “Abbey” wall, etc.—are yet above ground and familiar to us all, and have already been dealt with in these chapters.

If James Stewart be reckoned the twenty-fifth Prior, he only held the office *in commendam*, and was never in Orders, and in his days the Priory, as a Religious house, ceased to be. It would be interesting to know if, previous to that event, the canonical hours were still being said, and on what date and under what circumstances the last service was rendered.

The sub-Prior Wynram was a cleric and took service in the Reformed Church, becoming superintendent of Fife. Thirteen or fourteen others of the Canons took the same service, and became preachers at “certane kirkis of the Priorie.” It is supposed that the remainder, perhaps the older, the less enterprising, and the unconvinced, lingered about the Priory till they died.

There is some evidence that the Cathedral was still standing in 1572, and that the Senzie fair was held in the cloister garth as late as 1581—the merchants’ goods, according to Martine, being under the cloister roof. This is sufficient evidence that the surrounding buildings were also then standing, but no writer of the time has left us any account of their appearance. A hundred years later when Martine wrote, they had become so ruinous as to be undistinguishable. Many buildings without the cloister, but within the precincts, had disappeared, or were disappearing—in our time they have all disappeared except the remains of the Prior’s manse and the fragment of the Guest Hall.

This latter, when the foundations were laid bare some years ago, revealed an apartment about 80 feet by 40 feet with a centre and two side aisles and four bays long—a noble building evidently. The world is all so changed since the days of the Canons, and the Abbey mill, the brew house that stood close by it, “the malt house, bear giral, promptuarium, Hortus gladiatorius, Barns-deall yard, etc. . . . all are mentioned. . . but where they were . . . is uncertaine.” and will remain so.

CHAPTER X.

THE CASTLE.

All our historians affirm that the Castle of St. Andrews was built by Bishop Roger in the year 1200 ; but it is obvious that this is merely a figure of speech. It is also obvious that no one man built the castle, least of all Roger-de-Beaumont, who, according to the same authorities, died just two years later—in 1202. The building was the work of many men, and of at least ten generations, and probably the largest individual contributors to the final result were the last two occupants of the Primatial See of St. Andrews of the old Faith—the Cardinal Archbishop, David Beaton, and his unhappy successor, Archbishop Hamilton. The fate of the Cardinal is well known : he died by the “ stog sword ” of an assassin in 1546—Hamilton’s fate is perhaps less well known, but he, too, died a sudden death on the scaffold at Stirling in 1571. The architectural critic, contemplating their buildings at the castle, is tempted to say, “ Serve them right.” It is perhaps a misnomer to call it a castle, seeing that it was not intended to be a military fortress or the stronghold of a Baron, but only a house or palace for Christian Bishops. Bishops, however, like Barons, and landed men in general, had in those times to be on their guard, and their houses had to be strong enough to resist sudden attack or stand a siege if need be. Various defences had to be provided—a strong situation to begin with, a wall of *enciente* and a tower or keep to live in, with a roof on which a beacon fire might be lighted, and from which a warder could watch and give alarm on the approach of danger.



The Castle—S.W. Front.

It is, however, as the " Castle " that it has had such an eventful history and such associations with the greatest names and the most stirring scenes in Scottish history, that its peaceful inception as a dwelling-place for the chief ministers of the Gospel of Peace in St. Andrews has been largely forgotten or overlaid by the events of its later history. What determined the choice of site was doubtless the fact that it was the nearest to the Cathedral that offered a fairly defensive position. That angle or nook of land had the sea on two sides, and with a wall and dry moat on the other two its outward defences were complete according to the military engineering of the time. Where the earlier Bishops lived, unless in the cloister with the inferior clergy, it is now impossible to say. Neither written records nor material remains exist to throw light on that question, but as some died within that sacred precinct, it is a natural inference that these lived there also. No Bishop up to this time seems to have borne a patronymic or surname. We only know them by " first names " like the Patriarchs—Abram, Isaac, and Jacob—but the times were advancing. The Bishop of the year 1200 bore a surname, was the son of an Anglo-Norman Earl, and own cousin to the King (William the Lion). He apparently required an official residence outside the cloister to support his dignity, and that of the Primatial See of the Scottish Church, for his office was still " Bishop of Scots " rather than Bishop of St. Andrews.

King William believed in being master in his own house, for when Bishop Richard died in 1178 and John *the Scot* was elected by the Canons his successor (undoubtedly within their rights), he nominated his Chaplain Hugh and with the help of an assessor made

the Canons elect *him* and caused him to be consecrated. Then ensued the bitter warfare of a contested election, which lasted for ten years, and went to all lengths even to the Kingdom being laid under Papal interdict. Victory however finally remained with the King, and when *his* Bishop died of the pestilence near Rome—whether he had gone to be absolved from his excommunication—the way was open for the nomination and election of his cousin, Roger-de-Beaumont, at Perth, as Bishop at St. Andrews. For reasons now unknown—unless it were some recrudescence of the old claims of York—he did not receive consecration for ten years after his election, but in February, 1198, he received that rite. He died as aforesaid in 1202, and his contribution to the building of the castle must have been small. But he at least founded a house whose fame has gone throughout all lands and over all seas, wherever Scotsmen “most do congregate.”

If any real knowledge is to be gained of the Castle with its various buildings and outward surroundings, say, in its most eventful years, 1546-47, it were best severely to forget much of the picturesque writing of some Scottish historians, and go to the building itself and back to the sources of their information and of ours, which means mainly to its first historian worthy of the name, the man John Knox. He was over thirty years of age at that time. He had eyes that could see, and the faculty of describing what there was to be seen. He was not in the castle at the time of the tragedy of Saturday morning, 29th May, 1546; but he entered it within less than a year, and remained an eye witness to the siege operations which eventuated in its capture and his own condemnation to be a common oarsman or rower in the war galleys of France. The steam power of those days

was human muscle, sweat, and tears. But with him that did not last for ever—one day “lyeing betuix Dundye and Sanctandrois the seconnd tyme the galayis returned to Scotland, the said Johne being so extreamlye seak that few hoped his lyeff,” he was asked to look to the land and see if he knew it. He answered, “Yes, I knaw it weall ; for I see the stepill of that place, whare God first in publict opened my mouth to His glorie and I am fullie persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall nott departe this lyif till that my tounge shall glorifie His godlie name in the same place.”

The beginnings are difficult to trace, so much that was has ceased to be, but the original arrangement in accordance with the practice of the time seems to have been three isolated Towers at some distance apart from each other, with the intervening spaces filled in by curtain walls. There was first the Bishop's own Tower or lodging with the Chapel adjoining—*behind* the present tower that looks up Castle Street ; second the donjon or sea tower, the residence of the major-domo, constable or other officer who was over the Bishop's household and in command of his defensive forces—such an officer would of necessity be an important personage ; third, there was the kitchen tower, the function of which is sufficiently obvious. That arrangement probably continued for many years, but later—gradually and bit by bit—the spaces were filled up by buildings, the ruins of which still exist. What like the curtain wall was on the east we will never know, but those on the south and west are still largely in evidence. The shape or “ground plan” was doubtless determined by conditions that were partly artificial and partly natural. Right-ward and immediately adjoining the Bishop's tower was the Chapel, which having been built

on the line of true orientation fixed the boundary of the building on that side. Left-ward the curtain wall goes decidedly towards the north west, the determining cause being probably some natural ravine or hollow through which the drainage of the higher land to the south found its way to the sea—the beginnings of the Moat. This wall after going so far in the direction indicated turned north east-ward to join the Donjon, the site of which was determined by the partially isolated rocky perch on which it is built ; for St. Andrews, like

. . . . "Tantallon's dizzy steep,
Hung o'er the margin of the deep."

The splayed plinth courses (2) of the wall are, with one small exception, continuous from the Bishop's tower, through the so-called guard rooms and round to the donjon. It was about six and a-half feet thick, and probably twenty feet high, finished atop with a paved path and a crenellated parapet like the "Abbey Wall," but thicker. Left-ward of the Bishop's Tower, and in the curtain wall, was the Castle gate where it still is at the inner end of the present entry or "trance." Some vandal has spoiled its inner side of the hewn stones, but the outside is quite entire. The south west corner was double buttressed—one buttress on each face—and there was a large buttress in the centre of the west wall, partly, no doubt, to keep it plumb and straight, but also in order that a defender on the top might get outwards to rake the wall on its outward faces, right and left. Within the Castle gate and to the right was the Bishop's lodging already noted—three storeys high—a vaulted basement, a private chamber from which there was a door into the Chapel, and above, a bed chamber. Simple quarters ; but the times were simple and what did a celibate need

more? Farther to the right, also as already noted, was the Chapel—above a vaulted and partially sunk basement, in which were two rooms with windows looking into the court. One has the remains of a good moulded fireplace—these rooms were probably the quarters of the Chaplain, and the little cloister indicated by the four pillar bases shewing above the gravel was his ambulatory and covered way to the Chapel stair, part of which remains. Perhaps one was his lodging, and the other a scriptorium and library such as might reasonably be expected in a Churchman's palace and under the charge of his Chaplain. The Chapel was probably about 55 feet by 20 feet, and being truly oriented the altar would be in its canonical place against the east gable. Two large masses of masonry—one on each side of the Bishop's Tower—are probably the foundations of stairs, one giving access to his chambers and the other to the Chapel to serve the lay inhabitants of the Castle, who would naturally enter near the west end. One side of a high window still remains in the south wall overlooking the moat, and in Slezer's view of about 1693 there are shown two windows and the side of a third of a distinctly ecclesiastical character. They are rather debased in style, but that is probably due as much to the artistic incapacity of the draughtsman as to the subject matter of the sketch, which is out of all proportion.

It was "in the Chapell within the Castell at a certain hour" that John Knox read lectures to his pupils, the two brothers Douglas of Long Niddrie and young Alexander Cockburn of Ormiston. It was in the Chapel also that he received his ministerial call "whereat the said Johnne abashed byrst forth in maist abundand

tearis, and withdrew himself to his Chalmer." Here also he preached and dispensed the elements of bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the reformed manner.

In the view of about 1530 is shown a Tower at the east end of the Chapel which may have existed, but of what it contained we know nothing, it and a whole range of later buildings forming the east side of the Court have been swallowed up by the North Sea ages ago. On this side there would be that common feature of all such palaces—the Great Hall, or "Banqueting Hall," as it is sometimes grandly called—the "gryt hall" in 1565. Its usual and natural place was near the kitchen—a serving room usually intervening, perhaps the "panitrie" of 1565. Allowing the half of this side for the Hall, there is still the other half, say sixty feet or so, which may all be peopled according to the fancy of the studious in such matters. There is absolutely nothing left on which a reasoned opinion can be founded. In 1565 there is mentioned the "gryt Chalmer and the mid Chalmer"—these probably were here, but may have been elsewhere.

As indicated above, the Kitchen was in the north east Tower above a vaulted and partly sunk basement, the "sink" or waste water slopstone of which is still in its ancient corner, pointing to the sea, and the great fireplace was probably to the left in the north wall—now disappeared. Chimney flues and stacks, from the thinness of their outer walls, are generally the first to go in buildings falling into ruin. The great thickness of the east wall, about twelve feet, has been remarked on; but that is due to an inner wall having been built against an outer and an older one. This tower had probably no third storey. Adjoining the kitchen, but on the lower

level, appears to have been the bakery, the remains of the oven being still *in situ*. Along the north wall—perhaps the original curtain—there has been a range of buildings about eighty feet in length of a more ordinary kind which were probably the quarters of the serving men and men-at-arms, of whom there would be considerable numbers at most times. Between these and the Donjon there was an opening—probably a gateway to the outside through which the “fulzie” and refuse would be thrown into the sea and rain and fouler waters reach the same destination. Without being committed to belief in the legend passed on by Martine anent men having played bowls and the heritors of Kinkell claiming the right of driving their cattle between the castle and the sea to water at the Swilcan burn, we may believe that more firm ground existed then, outside the castle walls, than there does now.

If any building within the Castle ever went by the name of a Donjon, it was the north west tower. It had in its lower storey the dungeon, dunjoun, dungeowne, from which the name is derived, and its strong position, approachable only through the court of the castle, answers to the definition of a Donjon of early times. Beside the “bottle dungeon” vault there is a smaller apartment also vaulted, perhaps for the warder. Above both were other two storeys of living rooms—two in each. The right one, on the first floor, has the beginning of a finely corbelled out “oriel” stair to the top rooms—the best bit of masonry now visible about the Castle, and infinitely superior to anything executed during the Beaton-cum-Hamilton *regime*. The other room has also a corbelled out structure, but it is a wardrobe—convenient perhaps, but decidedly airy. The dungeon

itself is a pestiferous pit sunk some 24 feet in the rock and so widened out below as to make unassisted escape impossible.

At some time after the invention of gunpowder and the introduction of artillery as a weapon of attack in the siege and defence of castles, probably about the end of the fourteenth century, a large round Tower was built about forty feet in diameter and of great strength and provided with gun holes on both sides of the curtain wall for raking the faces and protecting the Gate. What its height was and how finished atop cannot now be known. It is not improbable that through this tower there was a door to the outside which might be the privy postern afterwards referred to. All these buildings and walls enclosed an irregular quadrangle about one hundred and fifty feet each way—an enclosure which the Saxons called a *geard* (whence yard), the Normans a court, and we—making a compound—call a courtyard. It is not to be supposed this yard or court was always the broad grassy sward of our day. It must have accommodated many meaner buildings of a domestic sort and less substantial than the castle itself. There must have been stables and coach houses, perhaps cow byres and kennels for hunting dogs, stores for their food and for fuel and all the various *necessaria* of a great house.

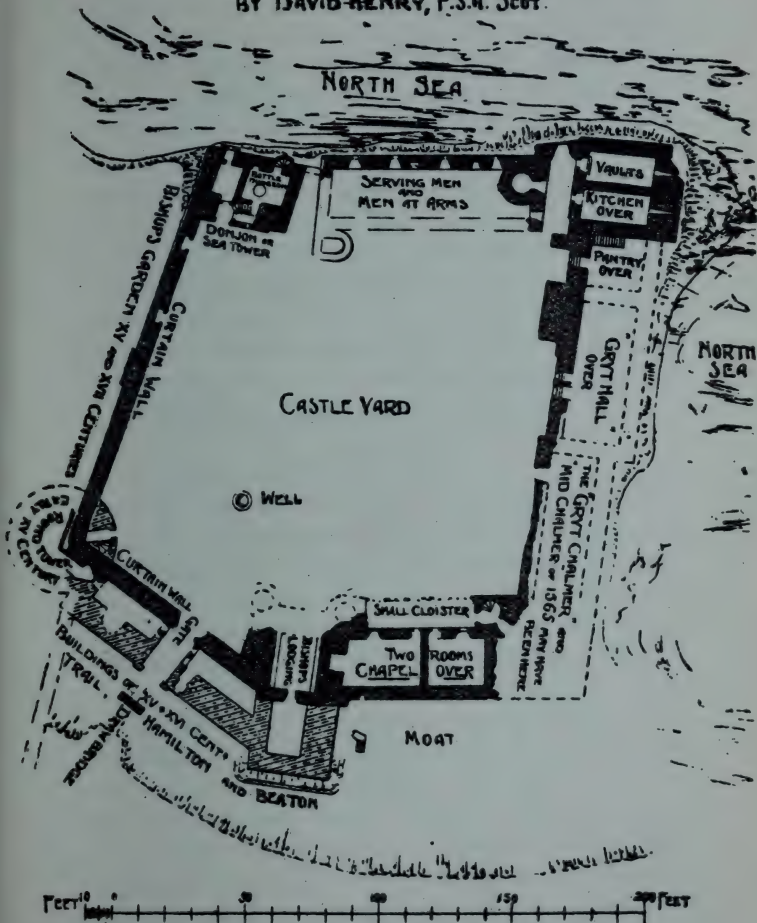
The food and drink stores of the human inhabitants must have been in the partially sunk and vaulted basements under the main buildings and the great hall, already alluded to. The function of the Well is too obvious to require further elucidation.

West of the Castle was a walled-in garden, where Castlecliffe and its grounds now are. Its western wall is shown in the sketch of about 1530, extending south-

SAINT ANDREWS CASTLE

SUGGESTED RESTORATION

BY DAVID HENRY, F.S.A. Scot.



ward over the Scores—or Castlegate, as it was then called. In this extension is an arched gateway giving passage along the Scores to the west, the artist, however, may have meant only to indicate a gate—not necessarily an arched one. In 1458—Bishop Kennedy's time—it is referred to in describing a boundary as "the garden of the Palace of the Bishop," and in 1621 (Spottiswood's time) it is "ye zaird of ye Bischop his palais."

A now-walled-up door adjoining the so-called "sea tower" was probably the garden entrance and may have been the "previe posterne" which Knox jeeringly affirms the Lady Marion Ogilvie was seen leaving on the morning of the murder, but it was probably only a garden door. The Bishop's garden—doubtless "a thing of beauty" in its day—has completely vanished, and has

"Like the baseless fabric of a vision"

"Left not a rack behind."

The most prominent feature of the outside of the castle is the large square Tower with the chequered corbelling and crow stepped gable that looks up Castle Street. This is both by Knox and Pitscottie called the east "blok-house," and it has from certain marks on the fore wall been thought that this was the original entrance, but that is impossible, the marks notwithstanding. This tower—plainly a late addition—is built in front of the older tower of the thirteenth century which it covers and effaces, just as the long façade to the west is built in advance of the ancient curtain, effacing it and converting it into an inner or back wall to the new building. There was no entrance through the early Tower, and for want of that there could be none through the later. Farther, no entrance can be imagined through a Tower that was

not stone vaulted above and here there is no trace of such vaulting. It may be taken for certain that the Castle gate has always been where it now is, and that the thousands—perhaps millions—of human beings who have entered into and departed from the Castle have done so by the same gate during the seven hundred intervening years. The Tower, which was part of Archbishop James Beaton's buildings in its first form, has experienced several changes, but in its latest (and present) form it is the work of the Cardinal. The corbelling and shape of the gable belong to his time, and the Arms between the windows—lower and upper—though much defaced, retain enough of the Balfour chevron on the third quarter to warrant the conclusion that they are his, and also that the shield was surmounted by his cross and Cardinal's hat as may be seen on his seal of 1542. Enough is also left of a scroll or riband on the sinister side to infer a similar one on the dexter, both at the time bearing the words "*intentio, intentio*" as on the seal. That the rooms in this tower were the Cardinal's there need be no doubt. After his burning of Wishart he knew quite well that his life was threatened in many quarters—and Scotsmen would hardly have been Scotsmen if it had not been so—and Knox speaking of his confidence in his defences says that "in Babylon that is his *new* blok-house he was suyre as he thought." Again, on the fatal morning—"First the yettis being oppin and the drawbrig letten doun for receaving of lyme and stanes and the other things necessar for the buylding (for Babylon was almost finished)," and Pitscottie, "Peter Carmichael past up to the east block-house where the Cardinal lay"—that is to the tower now in question. It is frequently asserted that he was strengthening the

defences of his castle in anticipation of attack, he may have widened the moat, and so cut away the foundation of his "blok-house" which he underbuilt by the heavy masonry we now see rising up from the bottom—for this was no part of its original foundation.

Fordun in giving his certificate of good character to Bishop Trail (of Blebo, who died 1401) says "This censor of morals, this corrector of faults, was broken down by old age, and died in the castle of St. Andrews which he had reconstructed from the foundation." This probably means no more than that he erected some new buildings on the east side of the courtyard, and perhaps the great Hall, rebuilt and repaired others including the Chapel, and made it habitable again as the Episcopal Palace. From the Cardinal's "new blok-house" westward the work is Archbishop Hamilton's. He built the new front up from the bottom of the moat (or from the rock where it was higher), and on the face of the older wall, thereby increasing the thickness to over nine feet, which thickness goes up to the top of the vaulting only. Above that the thickness is about four feet. The object apparently was to obtain wider rooms on the upper floors, and this was accomplished to the extent of nearly six feet. The general building shows a great falling off from the earlier work at the castle, and the window mouldings are very debased in style, but the centre part in which is the new gate is really good, and the work of an artist, perhaps one of those French "maister masouns" of the Crown of whom there was a succession for about fifty years from 1536—covering the period in question.

The Gateway has lost its inner "order" all round, which gives it not only a thin and unfinished look, but makes it appear wider by fully two feet more than it really was. It

could not originally have much exceeded eight feet ; as it now is it is nearly eleven. In the lost order there had been the gate to correspond with the new façade, and as, with the advent of artillery, moats had become obsolete as defences, there is some probability that the castle moat was at this time filled up—the postern to the east, then formed, could only have been serviceable on level ground. The angle shafts of the projecting centre, with all the level courses carried round them, are pleasing and effective. Curved out, rather than corbelled out, is a sub-centre above the gate with again the angle shafts and the level courses carried round : in this is a panel for arms which have long disappeared. Above in the next course are the cinquefoils of the Hamiltons—four owing to architectural exigencies, but three is the number on the family coat and on the Archbishop's seal.

On the curved corbel is the faint outline of a panel, and within it some elusive figures seem to point to the year 1555 as the date of the work. Above the cinquefoils is a row of panels (four) which terminates the design as it now is, but it was doubtless carried higher and finished with a gable. Right-wards are the corbelled out beginnings of two of those flamboyant dormer windows with which the French of the period liked to decorate the outer walls of their chateaux at their junction with the roof. There must have been two on the left side as well, as shown on Slezer's drawing of 1693. It is specially noticeable that all the centre above the cinquefoils and the bases of the dormers are of a firm fine-grained stone quite different from anything Fife produces, and it may be taken as certain that the hewers of the lower windows did not work the delicate mouldings of the fine panelled surfaces of the centre gable and the dormers. Perhaps

they are wholly French in design, material, and workmanship. The west end of this façade was probably terminated by a tower as suggested by the sketch of 1530, of which some traces remain. No doubt Archbishop Hamilton's addition to the castle finished the age of building up—the age of pulling down was advancing apace.

Bishop Roger-de-Beaumont, who founded the castle, was succeeded by that “energetic Norman” Bishop Malvoisine, who must have carried on the work and possibly completed the original scheme of the three towers and the connecting curtain walls. Malvoisine sat Bishop for thirty-six years and was a great builder, adding more to the Cathedral than all his predecessors, finishing a large part of it, consecrating it for divine worship, and installing the Canons in their new church. He is said to have also built the Boarhills tower or palace of Inchmurtach, where he died in 1238.

The chroniclers record no building to the credit of the next three prelates—De-Bernham, the futile and shadowy Abel, and Gamelinus. Bishop Wishart, who succeeded in 1271, probably expended all his means and energy in finishing the nave of the Cathedral. He hardly sat eight years Bishop, but did a great work in that time, and probably did not care, or had not been accorded time to spend anything for his own benefit. To him succeeded Bishop Fraser, but the shadows were beginning to deepen which darkened all the land for a hundred years. The Queen of Alexander III. had died, their three children had also died, one after the other, and there was no direct heir to the Crown except the little maid over in Norway, the King's grandchild. The King married again, but only six months later, going, it is said, to pay the new

Queen a visit in Fife, he left Edinburgh on an afternoon, crossed at Queensferry, determined to ride from Inverkeithing, though warned against it, the night being stormy and dark. Near Kinghorn he was thrown from his horse and killed. "Such," says Hill Burton, "was the final calamity, opening one of the most gloomy chapters in the history of nations." A little later, the Maid of Norway also died.

Meantime three guardians of the Kingdom were appointed south of the Forth and three on the north, each three consisting of a Bishop and two Barons. Fraser was the Bishop on this side, but his colleagues were the Earl of Fife who was murdered, and the Earl of Buchan who died, and he was left alone. His troubles were apparently too much for him, and he went to France and did not return. Dying at Arteville his body was buried in Paris, his heart only being brought to St. Andrews for entombment in a recess in the north wall of the Cathedral choir. It is not likely that he made any addition to the castle. The next Bishop was William-de-Lamberton, and during his episcopate it had a plentiful share of the distresses of the time. Though the Crown was thus left without a direct heir there were plenty of collaterals—more than a dozen of them, but they were mostly Anglo-Norman nobles whom the Scottish people disliked as foreigners. It was agreed to submit their claims to the arbitrament of Edward I. of England, and he gave his decision in favour of John Baliol, perhaps the rightful heir, as we count kinship, but the old law of succession was hardly yet obsolete, and Robert Bruce contended that his claim was the best, inasmuch as though of a younger branch he was one generation nearer the parent stem than Baliol. The

nation as a whole favoured Bruce, and the result was war—civil war—with Edward and the English on one side. Lamberton was a friend of Bruce and of the National cause, and a determined opponent of Edward and the English pretensions, and though it was at times by devious ways, he favoured that cause to the end. It is to this fact that we owe the visit of Edward to St. Andrews, and his spending his “Easter holidays” in his enemy’s castle. Apparently His Majesty did not think it fit for the reception of himself, his French Queen Margaret, and their family, for in the accounts of a certain Sir Richard Brymmesgrave, for 1303-4, there is the following entry:—“Henry Tonk, valet of the King’s Chamber, sent from Dunfermline to St. Andrews to prepare certain chambers in the castle, against the coming of the King, Queen, and family thither, for money paid by him as wages to Master Robert de Bedeford and 12 of his carpenters; to Robert de Wolveston, mason, and 3 of his men from 19th February till 18th March in the present year; and for outlays and expenses of these 3 workmen in putting divers chambers in order in the aforesaid castle, 16 plasterers for the plastering of the walls, 4 smiths for making iron work for the protection of the windows in the aforesaid chambers, and for the various minor expenses connected with the preparation therof,”

Put in modern figures the amount is ... £16 6 9

“Also for 30 lbs. iron bought for the said iron work, ... 1 8 0

“Also for timber, laths, lime, coal and sand bought for said chambers, ... 12 13 10

“Also for expenses of the said workmen, in all 15 days, during the said time at 12 pence per day, ... 0 15 0

In all £31 3 7

From the fact that there are only 3 masons and no plumbers or slaters the natural inference is that the buildings were in good order—"wind and watertight" as we say, but the King did not like the unplastered walls, and the bare joists and rafters that satisfied the Bishops of St. Andrews, and therefore sent and had them lathed and plastered and possibly wainscotted. These masons and plasterers being only at the castle for four weeks their work was neither adding to nor repairing in the ordinary sense, but only improving and embellishing to suit the more refined tastes of the English King and Queen. Plaster is not easily removed from stone walls, and it is doubtless some of the Englishmen's plaster we still see on the walls of the original Bishop's tower. The King arrived on 14th March and stayed till 9th April, and according to Wyntoun "held hys Lentyne in reawty."

The Prince of Wales (later Edward II.) was there from 10th March till 5th April. It was then that the lead was stripped from the roofs of the Cathedral and the refectory of the Canons to be used at the siege of Stirling Castle. The Englishmen remained in possession till 1305, when the Scots drove them out. They, however, regained possession in the following year, and kept it till the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 when things took a new turn for Scotland, and Bishop Lamberton once more recovered possession of his castle. According to Fordun he on one occasion said :—" ' The Grace of God helping me, I mean to erect edifices so many and so imposing that it will be difficult for many of my successors to maintain them in a similar or suitable state. Henceforth almost every year he finished one sufficiently sumptuous, viz., his own Palace in St. Andrews, the fortified manor to wit,

Inchmurtach," etc., etc. If it is remembered that Edward I. thought such elemental work as plastering the ceilings and bare walls necessary before he could live in this Palace, we may imagine that the chroniclers' ideas of sumptuosity were different from ours. Although the Bishop had thus finished his palace he did not live in it or at least did not die there, for according to Wyntoun —

“ In the Priouris Chawmbyre off that Abbay
Off his lyff cloyde the lattyr day.”

That was in 1328. The good King Robert died the following year, 1329, leaving as his successor his son David, then aged five years, and Scotland again experienced the woes “ of the nation whose King is a child.” “ The disinherited Barons ” of Bruce's reign gathered round Edward Baliol, the son of John, and the old civil strife was renewed and continued for nearly forty more years till the country was reduced to great distress and misery. St. Andrews as usual came in for its share. Edward Baliol and his party for a time prevailed, and again the Englishmen got possession of the castle (rebuilding it according to Fordun); but did not keep it long; for in 1337 that mediaeval hero, Sir Andrew Moray, “ got to Saint Andrews, and with his engines mightily besieged the castle thereof for three weeks,” and on the last day of February it was rendered to him. Wyntoun adds the farther (poetic ?) touch that he

“ Wan the Castelle of Andristoun
And to the erd syne dange it down.”

But all that rebuilding and “ dinging down ” has to be taken *cum grano salis*. To this “ mighty siege ” may be ascribed the origin of the “ subterranean passage.” It

was no "passage" in the sense of being a way from one place to another, but is a piece of rather bold military engineering on the part of the "sappers and miners" of the time. Considerable risks were necessarily incurred in attacking and tearing out the stones of Castle walls at their bases above ground and machicolations were constructed for the purpose of dropping missiles on the heads of such assailants; but a mine underground in easy strata and with suitable cover was out of sight and often of sound, and walls were successfully approached in that way. In this case the objective was evidently to get under the forewall of the Bishop's tower, and so make a breach. The heading is fairly straight in that direction, but something hindered—almost certainly a counter mine—and the enterprise was abandoned or else the castle was rendered before it needed to become effective. Lamberton's successor was James Bane, who, having crowned the boy King at Scone, took fright at the success of the Baliol faction, fled the country, and died at Bruges in 1332, having sat Bishop barely four years. A William Bell was then elected, and though he went to the Papal Court for confirmation he did not get it, and the See was vacant nine years, Edward (III. by this time) seizing and holding the estate of the Bishopric.

At length, in 1341, William Landel succeeded and sat Bishop for forty-four years. He bore his share of the reparation of the Cathedral after the fire, and he was much concerned about the encroachment of the sea at the "Danes Wark," providing a fund for the preservation of the rocks. He lived to see the weak David Bruce restored to his Kingdom, the Baliol and English troubles mainly over, and the country being restored to something of its wonted prosperity. He entertained

the King at the Boarhills Palace of Inchmurtach and in 1385, according to Wyntoun—

“William Lawndalis, that gud man,
Off Saynetandrewys Byschap than,
Closyd off his lyff the last day
In the est chawmbyr off that Abbay.”

From all which it may be inferred that he did not live in the castle, and that it had probably been uninhabitable since Sir Andrew Moray's capture nearly fifty years before. To Bishop Landel succeeded Bishop Walter Trail, already alluded to. Fordun's statement that he reconstructed the castle from the foundation cannot mean more than that he added new buildings and restored old ones wasted by violence and neglect, as already suggested. The three towers and the curtain walls which survive belong to the first building, but the extent of the new buildings cannot now be estimated, as nothing remains on the eastern side from which any adequate idea of date or extent can be formed. It is believed that it was at the battle of Crecy in 1346 that the new artillery became an effective weapon of war, and the round tower in the castle with its gun holes can hardly have been built before Trail's time and he was probably the builder, as a means of defence in case of further warfare, from the disasters of which the country was just recovering. That all seems likely, but nothing is absolutely certain, except that as he died in the castle in 1401, it had again become the habitation of the Bishops.

To him succeeded Wardlaw, the founder of the University, and he is known to have lived in the castle, and to have had the future Poet King, James I., as a pupil there. Wardlaw was succeeded by Kennedy, founder of St. Salvator's College, the builder of St.

Salvator's Church and its noble tower. He entertained James II. in the castle, and taught him by the illustration of the sheaf of arrows how to break the power of his rebellious nobles—one by one, and one at a time, from which it may be supposed that the old weapons of the bowmen were not quite obsolete.

Kennedy was succeeded by his half-brother, Patrick Graham, the first Archbishop, but the castle was not a palace to him, but a prison. Schevez succeeded, then the two royal Stuarts, and then Foreman till in 1523 James Beaton became Archbishop and the castle was alive again. He was a great builder—the most useful of his many activities being bridges and additions to bridges, some of which remain to our own day. He is said to have built “The whole forework of the castle of St. Andrews and several other works there.” This forework was the buildings on the outer or forward side of the curtain wall—the Cardinal's tower, already mentioned, and the “guard-rooms” on either side of the Gate. These buildings—which, while they narrowed the moat, added much to the defences of the castle—were finished or assumed their final form under the Cardinal and Archbishop Hamilton. Whether he built any outer wall or gatehouse is not known, but all accounts agree that he was a wily old gentleman who played his own hand and committed himself as little as possible to either party. It was then with Scotland as it had been before—the King was a child and the nation rent into factions. With all his caution he once found himself in prison, at another time a fugitive in the disguise of a shepherd, and in 1526 the Earl of Angus—who had married the Queen Mother—sacked his Castle. He recovered it again, and he and his enemy having

“squared” their differences, he refurnished and embellished it and invited the boy King and the Douglasses to spend their “Easter holidays” with him there in 1528. Meantime in 1527 he had lodged Patrick Hamilton for a night in the Castle, and burned him next afternoon in North Street in front of the old College. He was concerned in the burning of another St. Andrews martyr, in the person of young Henry Forrest in 1533, at “the North Church stile of the Abbey Church of St. Andrews” near the turret light. He lived to marry James V. and Mary of Lorraine in the Cathedral, stood godfather to their first son, and died in 1539.

James Beaton was succeeded by his nephew, the Cardinal, of whom already. He was assassinated on the morning of Saturday, 29th May, 1546, in circumstances well known to every reader of Scottish history, and the castle remained in the hands of the conspirators till the French fleet appeared in July, 1547. Mounting their guns on St. Salvator’s College and on the Cathedral they dominated the Castle, and opening fire one morning about four o’clock, it was silenced by ten and given up next day with the consequences, to Knox at any rate, already detailed. The buildings, doubtless, had some rough handling, but Archbishop Hamilton repaired the damage, adding the front already described. He did not enjoy it long, being obliged to evacuate in 1559, when he became a fugitive and was executed as above, in Stirling in 1571. After the Reformation the Castle had varied fortunes—the Reformers had it in 1559. Queen Mary’s half-brother, the Earl of Murray, had possession in 1565, when he was proclaimed rebel for opposing her marriage with Darnley. Being commanded by them “to deliver and rander the Castell of Sanctandrois with the hail

insicht (plenishing) and keyes thereintill," an inventory was made of the contents—which is meagre indeed. The apartments mentioned as then existing are the "gryt hall of the said Castell" the "gryt chalmer," the "mid chalmer," the "panitrie," and the "cellar." In these last two there were "twa keestis to keep braid in" and "xx pecis of tymmer and coupill feit"—these and nothing more. At the well there were "twa buk cattis and ane cord"—and, that the poverty and nakedness of the "palace" might be complete, there was "ane hayik and ane manger ennow the yeittis" and "ane hayik and ane mayinger out the yeittis." Keys, however, were plentiful—"fourtie gryt keys and small inside the yeittis," and two great keys and four small keys for the "yeittis" themselves. It may be inferred that the chapel had been denuded of its furniture before this as no mention is made of it. It was, however, still in existence fifty years later—a Synod being held in it in 1614. The castle had been but a "gousty hoose" to live in. Douglas, the first of the post-Reformation Archbishops, probably continued to live in St. Mary's College during his short episcopate of two years. Adamson, the second of the line, probably lived in the Castle, though his son, also Patrick Adamson, owned and lived in 71 South Street. He must have entertained James VI. after the raid of Ruthven, when from Falkland, "and with the company of a chamber servant, he stall from theyme at a bak side and rade with extream diligence to the Castell of Sanctandrois: wherein he remainit in great secrecie till the Nobles of the land cam to him in the moneth of Junii 1583, as he had written for, with their forces." The Archbishop's latter days were passed under a cloud, and he died on 19th February,

1592—probably in the Castle. In 1606 it was conveyed to George, Earl of Dunbar, “a nobleman of rank and friendship who is able to build, repair, and uphold the said Castle and resist the force and violence of foreigners,” but all that was because the said George (Home) was one of that perennial stream of King’s favourites which the monarch could not live without and on whom he could not lavish enough. He had made him Lord High Treasurer in Scotland, he took him to London with him in that capacity on succeeding to the English crown and *inter alia*, created him Earl of Dunbar. He is understood to have been one of the King’s most zealous assisters in the restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland, and when that was finally accomplished in 1612 (the Earl being now dead and without male issue) the Castle was re-conveyed to the Archbishop (Gledstanes), who died in it in 1615. Whether the Earl did any of the suggested building and repairing is not known, but one of the most splendid monuments of that age was erected to his memory in the Collegiate (now the Parish) Church of Dunbar, where it still stands—twenty-six feet in height no less, and of breadth to correspond.

Spotswood complained that it was ruinous in 1629 and probably lived mostly at his son’s castle of Dairsie—many of his letters from 1622 onwards are dated from there. From 1635 to 1638 the New Inns—on the right of the road from the Pends to the Harbour—was the Archiepiscopal residence. Subsequent to the latter date and till 1661 Scotland was Presbyterian and there was no Archbishop of St. Andrews, but on the re-establishment of Episcopacy and the consecration of Sharp to the Primacy, the New Inns again became the “Palace” and so continued till the end of that system

of ecclesiastical polity in 1688—the Castle being a ruin and uninhabitable.

The castle prison being a secure one it was much used for “ political ” prisoners from the time of David, Duke of Rothesay, in 1419 to that of Sir Robert Spotswood and his companions in arms in 1646. Many well-known Scottish names are on the long roll and there were doubtless some that tasted of its amenities of whom fame never heard.

Since about the beginning of the nineteenth century the ruins have been cared for by the Crown, and have recently been most effectively and even lovingly repaired and protected from waste by the weather and from thoughtless visitors of which there are still a few. The “ Castle green ” is a popular resort at all seasons and almost in all weathers, and its long history is not yet ended.

CHAPTER XI.

ST. FRANCIS AND HIS FRIARS IN ST. ANDREWS.

Of all the Saints of the Mediaeval Church there is no more lovable and winning personality than "Sweet St. Francis of Assisi," who chose poverty as his bride, and loved all created things as his brethren. He was born in the year 1182 in that now small town of Assisi, in the province of Umbria, some eighty miles north of Rome, or, say, as far as the little city of Brechin is north of Edinburgh. His father, Pietro Bernardone was a wealthy cloth merchant and the young Francesco assisted in the business. He was a gay young gallant, full of poetry and romance, sang troubadour songs, and fancied life was what they painted it; his father, proud of his association with the young nobles of the place, supplied him with money, which he spent freely, and with both hands. Though the father was only a merchant, it is said that the mother—the gentle Pica—had some pretensions to aristocratic birth, which fact gave her son some standing in society. Having plenty of money he had plenty of friends, and amongst them acquired some celebrity by his extravagant and fantastic dress and by his numerous pranks and prodigalities, though it is said that he never overstepped the bounds of morality and decency. Though he was fast ruining his life his heart was not wholly closed to good, and he occasionally became aware that there were hungry folks who could live for months on what he spent on folly in a few hours, and then with

his impressionable and impulsive nature he would repent in deep humility and give them everything he had even to his clothes.

Still he lived his old life, with no thought of changing, and what with doing his part only too well in fêtes, games, festivals, and other dissipations, he fell seriously ill, and for many weeks was face to face with death. Then the miserable emptiness of it all appeared to him, and he despised himself when he thought of his poor ambitions, which now seemed not only despicable, but ridiculous. Then began that mental and spiritual conflict within him which lasted for years. Intense mental conflicts cannot be described. Such men must suffer alone, and the soul of St. Francis was great enough to endure to the end. The parting of the ways had, however, come for him, and there was first the trouble with his father, in whose business he had ceased to take any interest. The enraged Bernardone went for the Bishop, and in his presence demanded restitution of some money his son had appropriated for a religious purpose, and also a public renunciation of all share in his estate. The young enthusiast laid down the gold and the deed of renunciation, and, stripping off all his clothes other than the penitential hair shirt—secretly worn—exclaimed, “Bear witness, all present, hitherto I have called Pietro Bernardone father, henceforth I say only—My Father which art in heaven.”

It was doubtless very brave, but he was called a madman, hooted at and insulted in the streets by those who had formerly fawned upon him, and whose mean sordid needs he had often supplied. The “new man” not yet being perfectly formed within him, he lived much alone, walking and communing with himself. During this

transition period one of the Churches he often visited was that of San Damiano some way out of the town, where, when praying before the image of the Crucified, he heard a mysterious voice crying, "Seest thou not that My house is in ruins? Restore it for Me." Interpreting this in the literal sense, he set about the restoration, begging the stones and carrying them on his back. It was, however, in the little oratory of the Portinuncula that one day—probably, 24th February, 1209—his call came. The priest, celebrating mass, turned towards him to read the words of Jesus, when suddenly he felt overpowered by profound agitation; it was not then the priest he was hearing, but Jesus the Crucified One, saying, "Wheresoever ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither silver nor gold nor brass in your purses, neither scrip nor two coats, nor shoes nor staff, for the labourer is worthy of his hire." All this he heard with new ears, and it was like the answer of heaven to his sighs and anxieties. "This is what I want," he said, "this is what I was seeking; from this day I shall set myself with all my strength to put it in practice," and he immediately did so, obeying to the letter the precepts of the Apostolic life. Next morning he began to preach. Friends joined him, and in a wooden hut close by the Chapel he gathered his first seven disciples, and in the green space in front of the Oratory and in the open air they assembled annually at Whitsuntide, first in tens from the vicinity, then in hundreds from all Umbria, and eventually in thousands from all Italy and Europe. This annual meeting or chapter-general of the Order was somewhat like a modern

“General Assembly,” the varied work of the year being reported on and future policy discussed and determined. It was called *Conventus Stolarum*, or Chapter of the straw mattings from the booths which the members erected for shelter. Such was the man and such were the beginnings of the great Franciscan Order which he founded. They were called Franciscans from the founder’s name. Greyfriars from the colour of their habit, *Minores* or Minorites from the fact that he would not have them called *Fratres* or brethren but *Frater-Culi*, i.e., little brethren or Friars Minors. The times were eventful, the Crusades were ending, but the Christian cause was being lost. Moreover, the eastern habits and modes of thought acquired by the Crusaders were spreading among the orthodox nations. Religious discipline had greatly declined, in fact, it was the age-old tale of Secular clergy ignorant and largely non-resident, preaching no longer practised, and livings becoming hereditary in families, who were of course illegitimate. The Regulars, idle and degenerated, had become rich landlords ruling over a numerous tenantry and had lost all influence. Sanitarily the towns of the time were deplorable, improvement could not keep pace with the growth of the population, and the plague and sweating sickness reaped a deadly harvest. It was, however, just such populations that excited the compassion of St. Francis and his preachers, and to them they exclusively devoted their attention, choosing the poorest quarters for their Convents which themselves were of the poorest kind. His own instructions were that “on arriving in any town and having sought the blessing of the Bishop and obtained a piece of land they should go and make a deep ditch round it and a good fence instead of a wall as

emblems of their poverty. They were to build poor cottages of mud and wood and some few cells for the Friars to pray in, and also to labour in for the eschewing of idleness. They were to build small Churches and not large ones, either for preaching or on any other pretence. And if ever Prelates or clerks or religious or secular men visit the brethren their poor houses, cells and Churches shall prove to them the best sermons, and they shall be more edified by these things than by any other."

The great Churchmen of the time, like Innocent III., had invested Christianity with a regal robe, and demanded an obedience which the commons of towns resented, but St. Francis determined that the Gospel should be preached to the poor and oppressed by preachers as ill fed and as ill clad as themselves, and who would demand no surrender of their independence. Whatever the weather and however rough the way the Franciscan Friar travelled the muddy roads and unpaved streets often barefooted and bareheaded in a habit of the coarsest cloth, leaving sometimes the prints of his bleeding feet on the ground. It was a hard discipline, but he believed that the Master had so commanded and he was willing and even eager to obey.

Leprosy, brought from the east by the returning Crusaders, was a frightful scourge, and the medical skill of the time knew no cure. The laws enforcing separation, etc., were severe enough, but they did not rid the world of the leper, he was still there to confound those who would fain have shut him out of their sight. It was on these unhappy outcasts that the Francis bestowed his affection and solicitude. "When I was in the bondage of sin," he said, "it was bitter to me and loathsome to see and look upon persons afflicted with leprosy; but the

blessed Lord brought me among them, and I did mercy with them and departing from them what before seemed bitter and loathsome was turned and changed to me into great sweetness and comfort of body and soul." He enjoined his Friars to follow his example and dwell in the leper hospitals, and there learn a lesson of humility ; and he made no exception, noble and ignoble who desired admission to the Order were commanded attendance on leprous patients.

The effect of such an example on the masses was great, lessons of patience and endurance and of purity of life fell with greater persuasion from the lips of men who were living examples of what they taught. They were everywhere welcomed in the towns, but they incurred the hostility and opposition of the clergy—Secular and Regular. For it was really a lay movement and so reflected on them. Francis himself was never ordained priest, nor were probably many of his followers, poverty and lay preaching was their mission just as the Dominicans made learning and the preaching of the clergy theirs. Francis's love extended to all creation, and dumb creatures inspired and moved him greatly. The sermon to the birds is eminently characteristic. " Brother birds," he said, " you ought to praise and love your Creator very much. He has given you feathers for clothing, wings for flying, and all that is needful for you. He has made you the noblest of His creatures ; He permits you to live in pure air ; you neither sow nor reap, and yet He takes care of you, watches over you and guides you." After this it is perhaps not unnatural to be told that the birds began to arch their necks, to spread their wings, open their beaks, to look at him as if to thank him, and that he went up and down in their

midst stroking them with his tunic, and that he sent them away with his blessing. The church dignitaries of the time must have been greatly perplexed by this strange man, whose faith and humility were evident, but whom it was impossible to teach ecclesiastical obedience.

It was in 1226 that the Franciscans arrived in England and made for London and Oxford, but the language difficulty always faced them, outside of Italy and France, and they suffered much hardship and persecution from their often inability to make themselves understood. We are told that being ignorant of the way (from Dover to London) they found themselves at the Benedictine Abbey of Abingdon in Berkshire. A young monk who saw them thinking from their strange dress and gestures that they were jugglers ran to inform the Abbot. *He* thinking they might afford some sport to himself and his monks ordered them to be admitted, but when they told him they were only poor Friars come to crave shelter and charity for the night he had them thrust out again. They were, however, everywhere welcomed by the town populations, and within thirty years they numbered 1242 persons and had 49 houses in different localities. With equal rapidity they passed into Ireland and Scotland and were received with equal favour. General Booth and the Salvation Army may seem someway behind, but the fact remains that there has been no such movement from that day to theirs.

These Franciscan brethren arrived in Scotland in 1231 in the reign of the Second Alexander, who settled them at Roxburgh and Berwick, and they ultimately had some twenty other houses in this northern kingdom, but their very popularity was their undoing. Municipalities and even private persons built Churches and

dwellings for them that were utterly at variance with the example of St. Francis and the rule under which they had taken service in the cause of Christ. Under these temptations to live below the high ideal of their founder the enthusiasm of the begging preachers who, in their serge frocks girdled with ropes had wandered barefooted as Missionaries of the Cross over all Europe and a large part of Asia, quite died away and, as Mr. Green says, "left only a crowd of impudent mendicants behind." It's an experience as old as the world, and the warning of "Moses, the man of God," is ever in point: "Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God"; "Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses and dwelt therein, and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied"; "And it shall be if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish." And perish they did but not just then. They revived and were stimulated to a new enthusiasm by St. Bernardine of Sienna.

From early times there had been protracted controversies within the Order as to the observance of their rule especially in the matter of dress, and all which that implied. The one party interpreted it in a way that allowed them some laxity, such as wearing a better and longer habit with a large hood to entirely cover the head, the other party—the lovers of severer discipline—insisted on the rule being strictly interpreted, and would only wear short and straight tunics, and small hoods; neither did the latter allow themselves shirts, and only had wooden sandals for their feet. This was to them the poverty of the Gospel, St. Francis had so prescribed, and

it was not in mortal to alter. The first party ultimately came to be called the Conventual Brethren or Conventuals; the other party the Brethren of the Observation or Observantines, and it was a colony of this party of the "Observantine reform" that Bishop Kennedy brought and settled in St. Andrews. One naturally asks why; and what was the matter with St. Andrews in 1458 that it needed this new re-inforcement to its already considerable army of ecclesiastics? With the eye of the mind let us look round. The good Bishop's own Church of St. Salvator, with its noble tower, was then a-building, but not finished, nor consecrated for two more years. The Abbey wall was not built, nor thought of, neither was the "Pends." The old ladies were still in possession of the ancient hospital of St. Leonard, the College being yet some way in the future. The University had been founded some fifty years before and was still young. The Church of the Holy Trinity was founded at the same time, and was also in its first youth. The *Domus Urbis*, the Mercat Cross, and something suggestive of the "dule tree" were in the middle of Market Street, and the leper hospital was still at St. Nicholas. The boundaries of the City were practically the "Lade Braes" on the south, the Cathedral enclosure—produced to the sea on the east—the Castlegate on the north, and the Town Gates on the west—the Northgate Port a little east of Murray Park, the Marketgate Port between the Infant School and Greyfriars Gardens, and the Southgate Port where it still is—though the present Port is more than a hundred and thirty years later than the period now in question. Outside these limits there were no houses except in Argyle and in the little triangle east of the "Foundry Lane," and those statisticians who give the

mediaeval population at anything up to twenty-three thousand must have counted those below the ground as well as those above and made a liberal allowance at that. The population and number of houses during the mediaeval period have been enormously exaggerated. An eighteenth century visitor says there were four great streets and 2000 houses and an historian of the early nineteenth century speaks of the population as being "estimated at about fourteen thousand." If in both cases these figures are divided by about *three* the quotient would still be a liberal estimate.

The religious establishments were—first and oldest—"The Collegiate Church of St. Mary on the Rock" on the Kirkhill, with its Provost and ten or twelve prebendaries. Their duties began and ended with the daily celebration of divine worship in their church and particularly in the saying of masses. Then there was the greatest of all and above all the Cathedral, with the Bishop and his Chapter of Canons-regular. They too (the Canons) were concerned only with their daily duties in the Choir, the discharge of which and their own spiritual growth and personal salvation being their avowed mission in life—these and no other. The living of the Parish Church was among their endowments, and they served the Cure with vicars of their own Order, appointed, of course, by themselves. The Dominicans had their Church and conventual buildings in South Street, but their mission was to preserve the faith and preach against heresy. Their zeal, however, had cooled and their numbers had greatly declined; not many years later it is said of their convent that only one Friar dwelt in it, "rarely two." There remained the crowd of Chaplains or Chantry priests who swarmed in the Town

Church and in the nave of the Cathedral, whose only duties were to say masses at their altars for the souls of the founders and act as choristers in the Town Church if they could sing. Apparently all this potential spiritual force was helpless ; it was nobody's business or duty to preach. Such were the Shepherds of the people—how fared it with the flock ? It is believed that it was regularly *shorn* but was otherwise “untaught, un comforted, unfed.” There were no morning papers in those days, no local paper at the end of the week, no books and no magazines or “Penny Stories,” not even the Holy Scriptures in a tongue “understood of the people,” nothing to lighten the dull stagnation of the daily existence for the common man. If he was to know anything more of life than just—

“The daily round, the common task,”

or anything at all of the life of the spirit and of the mind, it must be by oral teaching and the living voice of the preacher was the only means. The saintly Bishop brought this little band of Franciscans to supply the need. He provided them with a large garden, and gradually built for them some houses and a Church, but gave them no other property. It is no doubt due to this fact that we know so little about them. The older Orders had properties and privileges of all kinds, the rights or fancied rights of which they maintained with great pertinacity, and it is very much from their disputes about these and their quarrels with their neighbours about tithes, marches, etc., which, as there were no permanent tribunals, were continually going before this Bishop and that Abbot for settlement by arbitration, that our knowledge of them is so ample as it is. The

building operations apparently advanced but slowly, for they were not consecrated till 1479, twenty-one years later—in Bishop Graham's time, Kennedy's half-brother and successor in the See. Graham was what would probably now be called an "evangelical" and his favour for the Franciscan preachers would not make him more popular with his privileged brethren nor help to sweeten his greatly troubled existence. The garden extended to about two and a half acres and the boundaries were the wall that still bounds the back yards of the "North Bell Street" houses on the east, North Street on the north, the wall between it and the West Infant School on the west, and the Market Street on the south.*

With a little divination and the help of the "Bird's-Eye" view of about 1530 the establishment might be reconstructed. There was first the Church about say 120 feet long parallel to Market Street and back from the present line about 25 feet. Between the Church and Market Street was the burying place or churchyard of the brethren, the wall or dyke of which was some 15 feet further into the street than the now boundary. A recently laid water pipe went through a whole row of the remains of these poor preachers. The artist of 1530 suggests a door near the west end which would be the entrance for the public, the Friars' entrance being from the cloister as may still be seen at Elgin. No. 2 Greyfriars Garden

* Traces of a supposed earlier settlement of Franciscans in St. Andrews have recently been discovered. A petition of Bishop Wardlaw—on which a bull proceeded—has been found in the Papal archives at Rome for the establishment of a House of Conventuals, but there is no evidence that the matter went farther. Its locality is in the petition called Betleon and Bethelam, which is perhaps the Bedelamen in certain old charters in the possession of the University.

probably now occupies the site of their chancel and altar. Beyond the Church, northward, would be the cloister garth, perhaps 20 yards square, and round it the more domestic buildings, a chapter room, the common eating room, the common sleeping room, and possibly a kitchen and some stores for their garden and other stuff, though this matter of having food stores at all was one of the points of dispute between them and the Conventuals. If this reconstruction be approximately correct the old well now within the railings of No. 4 would be within the cloister garth, and near its centre from north to south, but a little westward the other way, which is what might be expected. This old Well is now all that is visible above ground of an Institution and a phase of local life which lasted for just a hundred years, and which probably was of some spiritual benefit to the burghers of the time. Two other small memorials remain which are worth mention. When the well was first cleared out many years ago it is said that the two inscribed stones were found which now form a part of that most interesting collection of old St. Andrews—the Cathedral Museum, they read (translated), “If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments, Matt. xix. 17”; “His commandments are not grievous, 1st John, v. 3.” It is a fair inference that though thus far separated in the sacred text these verses were intended to be read together and were placed in juxtaposition somewhere in the buildings for that purpose. Though these stones and the convent well are now all the visible memorials of the sojourn of the Franciscan Friars in St. Andrews we are in no worse case than other cities and towns. No Franciscan Church now survives in Scotland except “Greyfriars,” Elgin, which after being a roofless ruin for a century and a-half,

and in private hands, was some twenty years ago purchased by the Sisters of the "Convent of Sainte Marie of Mercy," who have roofed and restored it and built a convent for the Sisters on the old site and in the old manner. The "Greyfriars" of Aberdeen had to go about ten years ago to make way for the completion of the new buildings of Marischal College, the dispossessed congregation getting a new church on a new site.

Much foolish talk and equally foolish writing is indulged in to show up the destructive rapacity of the "Reformers" in pulling down these sacred buildings, but it is just ill-informed gossip and little more. It is believed that "the Kirkis of the Gray and Blak Freris" were burned by the party in possession of the castle after the assassination of the "Cardinal" in 1546—thirteen years before the Reformation. Whether they were totally destroyed, and if so, whether they were restored and to what extent is not known. The place is spoken of in a charter or sasine of 1559 as a piece of waste ground now demolished in its building, and lately possessed by the Minor Friars lying on the north side of the Market Gate and going north as far as North Street. From this it is a fair inference that the Church and convent were deserted and in ruins before the Reformation. Because Buchanan says that the mob "proceeded to St. Andrews and spoiled and levelled the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars with the ground" most of our historians have followed him and make statements that in point of fact are nonsense. If the Friars' Churches were levelled with the ground as is said we know that no violent hands were laid on the Parish Church, and we are equally certain that no "rabble" attacked St. Salvator's—which was in point of fact

plundered by its own clergy—there remains only St. Mary on the Rock and the Cathedral. What then becomes of the “several Churches”? It is to be feared that the Franciscan brethren in that corrupt age had “fallen from their first love,” their numbers, probably never large, had decreased, fewer and fewer caring to take service in an Order whose zeal had cooled and where there was no certain living. They had no rents to dispose of and no lands to alienate, and they probably fled before the Reformation came and let who would take possession of their place and garden. In fact the town got verbal possession, and afterwards legalised the matter by getting a charter from Queen Mary of “All lands, tenements, mansions, gardens, yearly revenues and other dues whatsoever of old, pertaining and belonging to all ranks or classes of brothers as well regular as irregular, commonly called the friars’ monasteries.” The property (locally known as the “Freers yard”) remained with the town till in 1836 and subsequent years Bell Street was opened through it nearly in the middle, and the ground feued and built on as we now know it. Dr. Bell being then one of the gods of this lower world in St. Andrews it was named after him. However, certain sensible if sentimental ladies about twenty years ago desired to have the old name restored, which by resolution of the Town Council was granted and “Greyfriars Garden” it is again, and it is to be hoped will so remain.

Where the band of preachers came from or of what nationality they were we do not know. James I., anxious for the improvement of the laws and religion of his kingdom after his long captivity of eighteen years in England *inter alia*, wrote to the vicar-general of the Franciscans at Cologne to send him some of the newly

reformed Observantines to settle in his kingdom. Brother Cornelius, a learned and pious Dutchman, and six brethren were sent in answer to this appeal. In the obituary of the Greyfriars Convent of Aberdeen there is a notice of a venerable Father John Richardson, "one of the first brothers who bore the sacred observance to this kingdom and who got places (for convents) in Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen. Probably Friar Richardson was a Scotchman though coming from Cologne, as there were many such attending the University there at the time, and a man who knew and could preach in the language would be invaluable. He died in 1469. John Lothon wrote much for the communities of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and died in 1473. William Fleming was 10 years in Edinburgh. and St. Andrews, and 34 in Aberdeen. Alexander Gardyne did much for the convent at St. Andrews and died in 1532. In 1540 John Tullidaffe was warden, and at the Provincial Council in 1549 John Paterson of St. Andrews was present as General Minister of the Order and Andreas Cottis appears as warden. It is probably of him, though he calls him Tottis, that Calderwood and others have a story of his getting a nickname, how he got it and how the craftsmen of St. Andrews and their servants called after him "Friar Paternoster," "Friar Paternoster," which so affronted and disgusted him that he left the town. There is also Alexander Arbuckle, a Franciscan, whom Knox holds up to scorn as a defeated controversialist, who had little to say for the faith that was in him in a dispute with the "said John" in St. Leonard's yards. It is, however, Knox who tells the tale, not Arbuckle. From about this time—1549 or '50—we have no further record of any members of the convent in St. Andrews—they

were, doubtless, gradually melting away. It is to be feared that it has been the misfortune of these Franciscan preachers to have their history written by their enemies, and that, perhaps, more has been said in their disparagement than they deserve. Dunbar, Buchanan, and Sir David Lindsay all attack them, but some discount may be fairly allowed off the hostile criticisms of all three. Dunbar himself was a Franciscan, but early laid aside the habit. He was a worldly ecclesiastic, of the earth earthly, and remained without preferment soured and disappointed to the end of his days. Unfitness on the ground of character is thought to have been the cause. Buchanan lampooned them in the *Franciscanus*, which he says he wrote at the desire of James V.—a king whose own private life was incontinent and scandalous to a degree. If there is anything in heredity it was surely not the least of poor Queen Mary's misfortunes to be the child of such an amorous sinner. Buchanan was a great scholar and a good hater, and his performance was bound to be able, but it is interesting and even amusing to find the same ideas cherished and the same language used with regard to modern missions and missionaries, and the usual methods of obtaining their support, which still prevails amongst many professing Christians and members of Churches. There is nothing new under the sun. Lindsay's criticism is, on the whole, not unfriendly, while scourging the Bishops and the heads of the Religious Houses ; he rather remonstrates with the Friars as men of whom better things might be expected. He admits that they could and did preach, and were in fact the only preachers of the time, but he rates them for their idolatry : their trust in the virtues of idols and relics, and urges them to cast these away and teach the

ignorant people the knowledge of God and His law. But their mission was ended in St. Andrews, the old order was passing away, and they, too, had to go.

CHAPTER XII.

OLD ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH.

One of our most interesting antiquities in this city is the old church fabric of St. Leonard, now somewhat shorn of its picturesque individuality. It and the little estate on which it stands—about seven rigs in breadth and three and a-half acres in area—extend back into the early morning of local history.

Tradition has it that in the year 761 certain relics of the Apostle Andrew were received in Kilrymont, no doubt in the old Culdee Church on the Kirkhill, for there was no other. At that time we should conceive of the situation as a rather bare headland or promontory with no St. Rule, no Cathedral of the later time, and especially no Abbey wall. Neither were there any Pends or high walls such as now enclose private properties and the pilgrim at St. Leonard's would have a clear vision of the fabric on the Kirkhill—hardly more than three hundred yards away—which he may have travelled far to see.

The land of old gifted to the Church was that lying eastward of the boundary that still divides it from St. Leonard's on the west. The next land to this boundary was the aforesaid seven rigs which must have been gifted by someone and at some unknown time for the erection and maintainance of an hospital for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims coming to see and worship before these healing relics. Whether the land then extended all the way from South Street to the "Abbey Walk" or only to the mill-lade is not quite certain, but

probably it did notwithstanding some evidence that rather points the other way. Sometime between the years 1240 and 1253, Adam, the son of Oden, sold to John Whyte, the seventh Prior of the Monastery, a piece of ground which apparently extended from South Street "to the water that runs to the Abbey"—now the mill-lade only, but then its water supply and drain to flush away the sewage as well. The western boundary was the "way" that is now Abbey Street, and the eastern the hospital of St. Leonard—and this is the first mention we have of its *locus*.

That it existed long before is however, quite certain, as nearly a hundred years earlier David I. gifted to it the two Kenlys (upper and lower), and his daughter-in-law, the Countess Ada, about the same time gifted Rathelpie. It goes farther back still, for it was in existence before David came to the throne, and we read that his mother, the Saxon Queen Margaret, constructed dwellings on both sides of the Forth "that the pilgrims and the poor" coming to St. Andrews "might put up there and rest."

These dwellings were probably constructed at Earlsferry on the Fife side and North Berwick on the other, and mayhap the pilgrims had a round of golf both at North Berwick and Elie on their northward way to St. Andrews! Be that as it may, behind the age of Margaret the outer darkness is reached, and we need enquire no further as to the date of the foundation of the hospital or why and when it was dedicated to St. Leonard.

As little need we enquire as to the nature and extent of the buildings, for they, too, have vanished into night—the only fabric of interest now surviving being the Church, or what remains of it, and consideration of this

raises the question as to whether there was any Church at all antecedent to the present. The probability is that there was not, and that such was not necessary for coming and going pilgrims who came to worship in the Church where the relics were.

When the time came "that the hospital was without pilgrims," and "the certain women chosen by reason of old age" were installed in their place, the necessity for a Church arose then, and not before. The women may not have been professed nuns, but doubtless they could only worship in a Church or chapel of their own where were neither men nor a mixed congregation, and the probabilities are that the Church of which we have the first mention in 1413 was built for them, that it was then comparatively new, and that it was the small Church with the vestry and sacristy that forms the eastern part of old St. Leonard's as we now have it.

Its architectural affinities are all with the South Street Parish Church of 1412 which had the same perpendicular tracery and flat window arches—fragments of which were taken out of the old walls during the recent restoration. It is thought that the old ladies had a *curatus* or chaplain to perform the divine offices in their Church, and the whole arrangement points to the separateness which had to be maintained between them and him. There is the combined vestry and sacristy to which there was access by a door in the western gable—probably outside of the wall enclosing their precincts. From this there is a "priest's door" for him into the Church when ministering at the altar, but probably he read the daily services from the so-called passage in the wall behind the altar where there is a sufficiently large opening—in which some grate or screen concealed him, but did not obstruct his voice.

This " passage " could be entered only from the vestry, and the remains of a stone bench at its southern end with a narrow slit in the wall beside it indicates another, and perhaps its chief, function of a Confessional. There the priest sat and heard confession from his female penitents in the church—separated from them by a thin stone wall. Any one who cares to dip into the Statutes enacted by the Councils of the Scottish Church about and after this period will not think that unnecessary precautions were here taken.

There is an upper passage to which indications of a stair have been seen, but its purpose is not very apparent unless it were for occasionally observing how the old ladies behaved in Church, and so preventing or checking that " idleness and foolish talk " to which the poor things were doubtless prone.

It is true that the meeting in 1413 is described as being held "*in ecclesia parochiali Sancti leonardi*," but, " one swallow does not make a summer," neither probably can one such entry be held to describe a real parish church in any ordinary sense. It was then recently built and the scribe may have been mistaken in so designating it in the first part of his narrative, and in any case it is not so named again during the mediaeval period.

All monastics endeavoured to keep themselves outside of the ordinary jurisdictions of their time—ecclesiastical and civil—and they did it in this city also ; but that could not constitute their properties a parish. If it did and this was a parish church, where were the parishioners expected to worship ? It could not well be here in the time of the old ladies, neither could it be in the days of the College when all females were strictly forbidden the precincts

except ancient laundresses of not less than fifty. If it were a real parish and an appropriation of the Priory, we would not expect to hear of a Rector ; but there must have been at least a Vicar with some living assigned to him within it ; but we hear of neither, nor does the Presbyterian Incumbent derive a penny of income from his own parish to the present day. The claim of parochial rights on the part of the Canons was just put forth to enable them to escape the tithes and other dues of the mother parish of St. Andrews.

In post-Reformation times its status was not better defined, for though recognised as a " parrochyn," in 1561 and ever since there seems to have been no regular parish services in the church for many years after that event—in fact not till about 1589. The conclusion is not unwarranted that the church of 1413, then recently built, was for the old ladies who succeeded the pilgrims—a church or convent chapel being for them a necessity. Other meetings are mentioned as being held in the church, but the Canons who built it, and who administered the affairs of the sisterhood, may very well have had the use of it when they required.

When the fulness of the time came that their place was wanted for something else the women were displaced, and their little Church and vestry incorporated into a larger scheme for a College of priests, in which was needed no distinction between sexes or between clergy and laity, and where a " priest's door " was not a necessity, when all were priests or in training for the priesthood. The original church and vestry are homogeneous throughout, were plainly built at the same time, and that time almost certainly the beginning of the fifteenth century. If any or all of the above surmises should be approximately

correct the sojourn of the old ladies at St. Leonard's may be reckoned at about a hundred years, a little more or less.

When Prior Hepburn, the real founder, extended the Church westward for the larger constituency of his College, he followed the same architectural style, but executed the work a little better. The western gable in which was the entrance—perhaps through a porch—was then taken down and the two—the original and the extension—made one church nearly ninety feet long by about twenty and a-half feet wide, but even so it was still the smallest church then in the city. Perhaps the trigonal headed door, of which some members still survive, was in this gable, or in the porch if there was one.

There is the King's door, now built up, in the north wall of the old parish church of Linlithgow, a not very dissimilar door, partially built up, exists in the south wall of St. Leonard's, which may have been used by exalted personages of the Church. What like the chief entrance of the Church of the College was is unknown, but before the tower was taken down there was a passage through it from south to north and from that a passage eastward into the church. Across this latter, and within the church there was another passage from south to north with doors on either end, but the drawings of the period only show them as having square heads of the commonest type.

In the original church the vestry afforded the requisite support to the north wall without buttresses : two were, however, provided for the south wall—one of which has almost disappeared and the other looks like having been rebuilt as to its upper half. At this time opportunity had been taken to build in a rather poorly executed example of the Hepburn Arms, and probably the upper or pointed part of the east gable was at that time also rebuilt.

As the western termination was a tower—there never was a west front or gable in the ordinary sense—and when it (the tower) was taken down a common wall closed in the church till about 1842 when that too was taken down, nine feet taken off the length and the *omnium gatherum* wall which till lately alone enclosed the west end was built. Truly, this old church has suffered some indignities.

Men of old time said that the best way to preserve a half ruined church was to roof it and *use it*, this too has got roofed, but is its use to be abandoned to the moles and to the bats?

According to the Persian poet—

“ The lion and the lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep.”

Surely not at St. Leonard's.

CHAPTER XIII.

“THE PENDS.”

When the prehistoric inhabitants dwelt at the mouth of the Kinness burn, where are now the harbour and the gasworks, there must have been various paths leading to westward and to landward which gradually, and as time went on, widened and hardened into the roads and streets of our own day. Also as time went on the place became too strait for these early settlers, and they required room for expansion. The natural line was upwards and westwards, but something intervened, and that something was apparently the lands granted in early times to the Church. Though most of the legends connected with the foundation of St. Andrews are plainly fabulous the grant of an imaginary King Hungus may have some historical basis. We read that “King Hungus then went with the holy men to Chilrymonth, and making a circuit round a great part of that place immolated it to God and St. Andrew for the erection of churches and oratories. King Hungus and Bishop Regulus and the rest proceeded round it seven times, Bishop Regulus carrying on his head the relics of St. Andrew, and his followers chanting hymns, and King Hungus following on foot, and after him the Magnates of the kingdom. Thus they commended that place to God, and protected it with the King’s peace, and in commemoration, the holy men surrounded it with twelve stone crosses.”

Though in the list of Pictish kings there is no Hungus there was in the middle of the eighth century a certain king, Angus, who was probably the granter of land so



Gate-house of the Monastery—Locally “The Pends.”

perambulated, and probably also, it is safe to conclude that the land, in the main is that still encircled by the Abbey Wall but including the Kirkhill, the site of the Cathedral and the outer burying ground. It thus stretched from the sea on the north to nearly the Kinness burn on the south, and so practically cut off the mediaeval Town from its harbour. When, therefore, expansion became imperative, the migration had to be westward beyond this ecclesiastical territory on which the great Church fabrics were subsequently built. The way to the land beyond would be by paths round the ends—north and south—and through the centre where the Pends road now is.

As the Metropolitan Church grew in power and influence its buildings, including the Priory, would cover more and more ground. St. Regulus followed the little Church on the Kirkhill, the great Cathedral followed that, and the later Priory followed the earlier.

By this time the middle road must have become rather a nuisance and an inconvenience to the Canons, crossing as it did their entire territory from east to west and past their very doors, and no doubt there grew up a desire to close it or limit its use by the public as much as possible. There were, however, difficulties—there was the mill, to which the burgesses were thirled, and which, besides, was the mill of the monastery.

We of these later generations hardly realise what the meal mill was to the householder of former days when the staple food of the people, gentle and simple, was oatmeal, a commodity which was not to be bought at shops as now, but had to be carried to the mill as corn, ground there and carried away again as meal. With such coming and going the privacy of the Canons was invaded,

and they could hardly realise the monastic ideal of seclusion or enclosure from the world while that remained. Perhaps also some Tam o' Shanter of the time incurred the reproach that

“ At ilka melder wi' the miller
Thou drank as lang as thou hadst siller.”

According to the Benedictine rule “ The monastery ought, if possible, to be so constructed that all things necessary, such as water, a mill and a garden, and the various crafts may be contained within it ; so that there may be no need for the monks to go abroad, for this is by no means expedient for their souls.” (Chap. lxvii.)

Whoever built the “ Pends ” or Great Gatehouse of the Monastery did so over this much frequented road and parallel to its direction, doubtless with the view of controlling and limiting its use to those really having business within the monastic precincts. And that this unhallowed intrusion by common folk should cease and the old leaven with its corrupting influences be entirely purged out, a new mill was built by the Prior for the public use at the shore, *outside* of the great enclosing wall which he had built, and the old mill reserved for the use of the Convent only. The old mill has now entirely disappeared, but a ghost of the shore mill yet survives.

A Pend is old Scottish for an arch or other cover over an entry to a “ close ” or lane, such as when a house or other building is arched or lintelled over it ; here there were a series of arches or rather of groins, hence pends in the plural rather than pend.

That John Hepburn the twenty-third Prior was the builder there need be little doubt. His name is, however, so much associated with the building of the great wall

and the founding of St. Leonard's College that it is apt to be forgotten that before either of these great enterprises was undertaken he had been Prior for at least thirty years. It is true his name is nowhere mentioned in this connection, but neither is the name of any predecessor ; and that it was not the work of any successor is quite certain, for it was in existence in 1488, being then mentioned in a deed as the “ New Work,” and the Prior lived many years after that. The probable date is about 1485, and to this the style corresponds.

Of the Prior's predecessor, William Carron, nothing more is recorded than that he was “ a simple and devout man ” and died in 1482. Prior Carron's predecessor, Prior Ramsay, amongst other good works built the Monastic Library “ of large squared stones well polished,” but no gateway is mentioned to his credit, and the search need not be carried further in this direction. John Hepburn remains the only probable builder, and that his name is not so mentioned only means the lack of historians and not the lack of historical matter. The older Scottish historians were all dead and the new order, like Hector Boece, etc., had not yet appeared.

The Prior's hall mark, the Hepburn Arms, is certainly now wanting, but these might well have been in the gables or in a boss of one or other of the groinings or, perhaps, he was not so lavish in the display of his heraldry in his youth as he came to be in later life. He was a zealous churchman, and as far as is known of irreproachable life in an age when the contrary was much in evidence, and it may be that at the bottom of his somewhat ostentatious building enterprises there was a real desire to restore discipline and promote education amongst an illiterate and unspiritual clergy, in fact,

to realise the ideal Monastery of an “ Enclosed Order ” and with a Monastic College within the precincts. Part of the above quoted rule runs thus—“ At the gate of the Monastery let there be placed a wise old man who knoweth how to give and receive an answer, and whose ripeness of years suffer him not to wander about. He ought to have his cell near the gate so that they who come may always find some one at hand to give an answer.”

The internal measurement of this gateway or “ Pend,” the largest and finest in the kingdom, is about 67 feet by 21 feet, the external measurement 78 feet by 32 feet. The roof was stone vaulted and groined in four bays, the first bay from South Street being an open porch in which those who sought admission would find shelter while waiting. Next this, inwards, was the cross wall in which was the great door or gate of entrance, behind which, and on the right, may yet be seen the built up cell door of the “ wise old man ” who was the Convent’s porter.

Suggestions have been made of the porter living above the gateway as if he had been a family man with wife and children, but that is impossible. Such a dwelling could have had neither fireplaces nor windows, and no stair of access, in fact, it could not have existed. The porter’s cell represented by the built-up door was just his cell, and he had no other lodging. The great door gave entrance to a hall or inner porch about 46 feet by 21 feet, open at the south end, where those coming on business would be attended to, and in which guests and visitors would be received and thence conducted to the Guest hall, the Prior’s manse or the Cloister according to their degree and their destination.

As already noted the inner roofs were stone vaulted and groined, which it is to be feared was their undoing,

the form adopted—apparently sex-partite—was not initially strong unless the work were very well done, but by this time the mediaeval builders had largely lost grip of the art of groining, and to this fact it may be due that the apparently fine roof has disappeared while the surrounding and supporting walls still stand quite secure, an unusual experience.

The outer roof was probably stone also of the ridge and furrow type with possibly parapets and gutters behind, the water being carried off by gargoyles. Few such roofs survive in Scotland, but St. Andrews in its heyday had at least two more, St. Salvator's in North Street, and the Transeptal Chapel attached to the church of the Dominican Friars in South Street—the vaulting of latter still surviving. The interested in such matters may yet see a fine example all complete, outside and in, on the Collegiate Church of St. Bride of Bothwell in Lanarkshire. St. Salvator's roof was vaulted, but not groined ; the Dominican roof has groining ribs, but they are only imitation, or at best ornamental. The main roof is just a plain pointed vault with the ribs underneath, the only part (the apse) which had by the construction to be groined, has fallen.

The method of disappearance at the Pends may be guessed—the ridge and furrow roof was apt to leak, the rain would get in—increasing an already heavy load on the not very strong vaulting, and a little expansion by frost would complete the ruin. The cross wall which contained the great door survived till almost our own time, but its opening was too narrow for modern traffic, and especially, it is said, for the passage of certain hay carts which their owners thought had business there, and so the right and left jambs were removed and pared off

flush with the side walls as we now see. When the fall took place the stones would be removed to clear the road, but probably the rubbish, which was nobody's business, was allowed to remain and may have helped to raise the road to its present height which is some two and a-half feet above the old level, and thus buries the base and plinth courses, which have not been seen for generations, perhaps for centuries.

If the Prior's aim in enclosing and beautifying his monastery was to endeavour the restoration of discipline and the providing of a more educated clergy for the service of the Church the effort was altogether laudable, but if so it began and ended with himself. His successor (and nephew) was one of the greatest moral offenders of that bad time, and if by the nature of the case the old Church had not long to live he was just the man to accelerate nature, and under him all things went down hill to the final collapse, which happened in his lifetime, though he was no longer Prior of St. Andrews, but Bishop of Moray.

With the dissolution of the monastery which followed, the gate would cease to be a barrier and the public apparently resumed the short road to the harbour as before. As a matter of fact, out of the four hundred and odd years that the Augustinian Monastery existed the " Pends " was the gate to the precinct for about the last seventy only.

When the vaulting fell is unknown. Martine, who would be able to remember as far back at least as 1650, only says it was " well vaulted of old," from which it may be inferred that the fall had been forgotten even then.

If the roof was weak the walls are of great strength,

and look as if they had a long future before them. A comparison is interesting—the walls of St. Regulus Church and Tower are two and a-half and three feet thick respectively, the Cathedral averages four feet, the “ Abbey Wall ” about three and a-half feet, and the Pends four and a-half feet besides the buttresses. The vault span was twenty-one feet against St. Salvator’s twenty-eight feet, and the Dominican side chapel (now the only survivor) of twenty feet four inches. Their approximate dates of building are—St. Salvator’s, 1455 ; Pends, 1485 ; and the Dominican Chapel 1520.

We have no notice of the office of Porter having become hereditary in St. Andrews, but at Cupar (Angus) and as late as 1609 it was sold to Lord Ogilvie of Airlie with “ all belonging thereto, viz., a small cell or chamber within the outer gate of the Abbey and a monk’s portion of food,” which portion had been commuted to an annual pension of fifty-five merks. Sasine was given by delivery of the keys at the said outer gate at 3 o’clock in the afternoon, on 28th June, in the above year.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HOSPITAL OF THE BLESSED NICHOLAS OF ST. ANDREWS.

In the early history of St. Andrews the word Hospital has three associations. *First*, and *par excellence*, there is the hospital of the Culdees—ultimately St. Leonards—erected and maintained for the reception and entertainment of the pilgrims who came to worship the relics of the Apostle Andrew. *Second*, the hospital of St. Nicholas, of which more anon, and *third*, “the Brothers of the hospital of Jerusalem” who owned considerable property in North Street, and later in South Street, which, however, was only a part of the endowments of their Order and not a hospital in the ordinary sense.

In this city of saints (ancient and resurrected) probably few wonder, and fewer still care to know why a homely and unpicturesque farm steading in the neighbourhood comes to bear the name of St. Nicholas, and yet St. Nicholas it must have been for more than seven hundred years. We read that “Naaman, captain of the host of the King of Syria, was a great man with his master. . . . but he was a leper,” and to this fact he owes his place for all time in the Canon of Scripture. Similarly—and a long way after, St. Nicholas, St. Andrews owes its name and its place in local history to the fact that it was the site of a leper hospital. The plague of leprosy seems to have scourged the ancient world of the east in all ages, and the oldest legislation concerning it that has come down to us is to be found in the book of Leviticus where minute directions are laid down for its detection and isolation.

When the examining priest was satisfied of its existence he pronounced sentence—the poor leper had to put a covering on his lips and cry “Unclean, unclean”; “and all the days that the plague shall be in him he shall be defiled: he is unclean: he shall dwell alone: without the camp shall his habitation be.”

St. Nicholas was in the day of its foundation emphatically “without the camp,” and a good mile from the ancient civic centre of the town.

When, or in what circumstances, leprosy first appeared amongst the western nations, and especially in Scotland, is a moot point never likely to be settled, but it was known by the middle of the twelfth century, and already hospitals had been built for the inclusion of its victims. It is usually believed that the returning Crusaders brought it with them from Palestine and Syria—the first relay returning in 1098, but it is thought that its presence can be detected even before that, at least in England.

As far as existing knowledge goes, St. Nicholas in St. Andrews must have been one of the earliest leper houses founded in Scotland. Adnestun in Berwickshire is believed to have been founded before 1177, and Auldcambus in the same county before 1214. St. Andrews was probably founded sometime between these dates, as Bishop Roger (de Beaumont) gave to the infirm brothers of the hospital of St. Nicholas the lands of Putekin (the modern Peekie), and his episcopate extended between the years 1188 and 1202. The reigning King—William the Lion—who died in 1214, besides confirming certain charters in their favour, gave them of his own bounty, a team of horses to bring brushwood for the use of their house in all time coming from the Kingsmuir

of Crail. The founders may have been the Prior and Canons of St. Andrews, for it is not known that that other founding body, the Knights of St. Lazarus, ever had any footing in Scotland, and some neighbouring religious house usually charged itself with the government of these foundations.

In those days the coast road left St. Andrews by a route much further east than it does now, and the hospital was probably set down on the waste between it and the sea. Though thus "without the camp," it was near a public highway, which situation had its advantages inasmuch as the poor lepers were allowed to beg at their own gate. This privilege would have brought small result to them unless people had passed and repassed that way.

In a Parliament held at Perth in 1427 it was enacted "that na lipper folke sit to thig (to beg) neither in kirk nor kirkzaird nor ony place within burrowes, but at their hospital and at the port of the toune and other places outwith the burrowes."

It was a frightful scourge—once a leper always a leper, and the medical skill of the time knew no cure; indeed, it was not pretended that these hospitals were founded for curative purposes—they only existed as receptacles for the seclusion and isolation of the infected.

Nevertheless, there were pretenders—that Fifeshire philosopher, Sir Michael Scott, opens his sapient head to say that "It ought to be known that the blood of a dog and of infants two years or under when diffused through a bath of heated water dispels the leprosy without a doubt." And in Edinburgh so late as 1597, a certain Christian Livingstone who was tried for witchcraft had it alleged against her that she "affirmit that

she culd haill leprosie quhilk the maist expert men in medicine are not able to do." This was her cure—" she took a red cock, slew it, and baked a bannock with the blood of it, and gav the samyn to the lepar to eat."

The separation laws were grim enough. For instance, " na man should presume, or be so bauld as to harborie or ludge ane lipperman within the burgh, under ane full amerciament "; and, further, " lippermen sall not enter within the toune, but (only) in passing throw it, and sall not gang fra dure to dure, but sall sit at the ports of the burgh and seek almes fra them that passes in and comes furth."

Another law of the time was that neither man nor woman was to come to the burgh except on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and then between the hours of ten and two only ; and if a fair or market fell on any of these days they were not to come at all, but on the following day. In the thirteenth century, at Berwick-on-Tweed, there is the following :—" And gif any lipper man uses commonlie contrair this our discharge to come within our burgh his claithes wherewith he is clad sall be taken from him and sall be burnt, and he being naked shall be ejected furth of the burgh." But for downright barbarity Greenside, Edinburgh, is easily first ; it was there specially ordained " That nane of the said persons lepperis or their wyffes, depart or resort fra the said hospital to na oyder part, or place, but sit still thairit and remayne thairin night and day, halyday and wark-day . . . and that they keip the dure of the said hospital fast and clois, fra the doun passing of the sone to the rysing thairoff under payne of hanging " ; " and thairfore for the better obedience thairoff and for terrefying the said lipperis to transgress the samyn the said

Commissioners has thocht meit and expedient that their be ane *gibbet* sett up at the gavell of the said hospital."

That was in Protestant, and presumably more enlightened times. The legislation, at least, of the ancient church was more merciful. A thirteenth century statute reads—" Likewise as to those who fall into the disease of leprosy, and by the general usage are separated from the society of men, we decree that when such persons transfer themselves to lonely places, they shall be effectually admonished by priests in their retreat to remember the parish church according to the limits of their means. But let no constraint be put upon them, for afflictions should not be added to the afflicted, but rather pity should be shewn to their miseries."

As on the Continent, some of the leper hospitals of Scotland, besides the isolation of the infected, were founded and endowed as religious houses, and one statute passed at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 sanctions the erection of separate places of worship for lepers provided the parish churches thereby suffer no loss. One author professes to quote a Papal bull appointing every leper-house to be provided with its own churchyard, chapel and clergy (*cum cimiterio ecclesiam construere et proprio gaudere presbyterio*).

From the fact of a dedication and also from the language of the charters to be presently quoted, it appears probable that St. Nicholas was also so provided. But if so, chapel and churchyard have disappeared ages ago, and the place that knew them knows them not any more for ever. The dedication was to St. Nicholas—the Santa Klaus of the Dutchmen and of the British nursery—the patron saint of boys as St. Catherine is of girls.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, with a few

exceptions, the disease was beginning to die out and disappear, and some hospitals on visitation were found to be without inmates, and that was probably the case with St. Nicholas.

Early in the same century, there was a great revival and renewal of zeal and fervour in the Dominican Order of Friars in Scotland. Amongst other effects of the movement was the re-organisation of the convent and some re-building of the monastery at St. Andrews. The convents at St. Monans and Cupar were suppressed, and the revenues and remaining brethren transferred to St. Andrews. Apparently the same fate overtook the hospital of St. Nicholas and its endowments, for they, too, were conveyed to the convent in South Street—very probably by Prior John Hepburn, who interested himself greatly in that institution. Amongst the other properties that came into the possession of the friars at that time were five old charters which they alleged “by lapse of time and negligent keeping had become corrupt.” These they got renewed—and in Cupar on 22nd April, 1540, the King, James V., confirmed them.

The first of the old charters narrates how William the Lion gave in pure alms to the infirm brothers of the hospital of St. Nicholas a team of horses to bring brushwood for the use of their house in all time coming from the King’s muir of Crail.

The second narrates how the same king confirmed to the same brothers the lands of Putekin (Peekie) which Bishop Roger had given them.

The third is also a confirmation by William to the infirm lepers of St. Andrews of 2 bovates of land at Polgaun (near Newburgh), which Hugh Giffert had given them. John Gifford of Polgaun and this Hugh appear in

the register of Cupar Abbey—the first as granter of a certain right-of-way to the monks, and the latter as a witness to a charter by which King William (the Lion) conveys to them two caracutes of land.

The fourth is a renunciation or quit claim of certain military services by Alexander II. (probably due on their lands, not on themselves personally).

The fifth is a charter by quondam Thomas Lundye for his own salvation and that of his father and mother to the hospital of the Blessed Nicholas of St. Andrews and the lepers abiding and serving God there of a toft and croft in Lundye—the boundaries of which are given. In addition, he gives them pasturage for certain specified numbers of sheep, cattle, horses, and pigs. Probably Thomas was of the ancient family of Lundye or Lundin of Lundin, near Largo, and may be taken to be the same person as the Thoma Hostiario, who witnesses two of the Inchaffery charters and who was father of the celebrated Alan Durward.

This summary of these five old charters, still preserved for us in the Register of the Great Seal, is all that remains of the written history of the leper hospital of “the Blessed Nicholas of St. Andrews,” which probably lasted as such for some three hundred and fifty years. The endowments were dispersed at and before the Reformation, some certainly by the Friars themselves.

